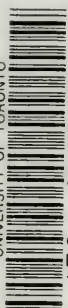


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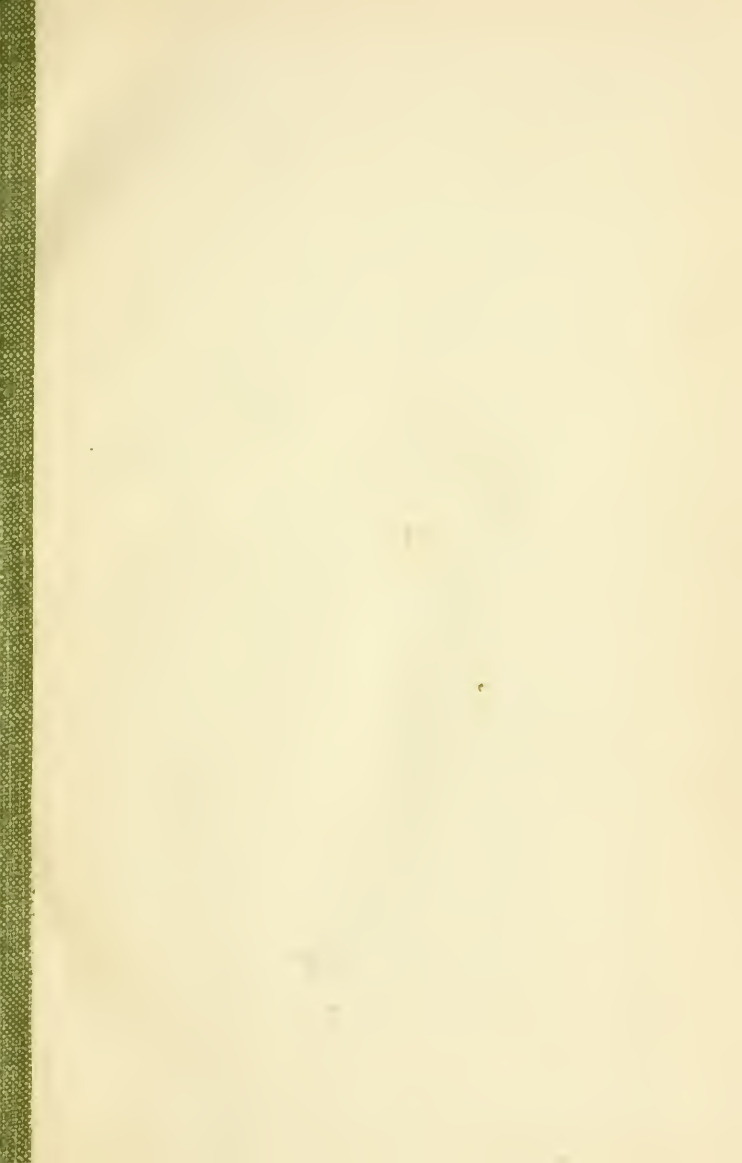
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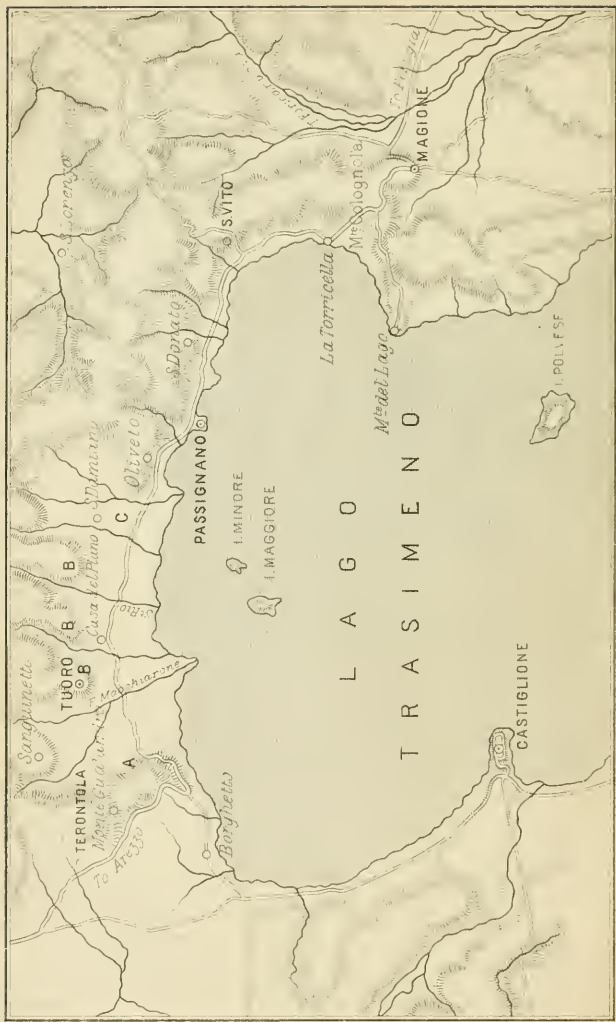
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London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,  
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,  
AVE MARIA LANE.



Cambridge: DEIGHTON, BELL, AND CO.  
Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.





1 MILE

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# BATTLE OF LAKE THRASYMENE

A. Hannibal's army, B. Roman army, C. Roman army in flight, D. Roman army in flight

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Pitt Press Series

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LIVY  
BOOK XXII.

EDITED  
FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BY  
MARCUS S. DIMSDALE, M.A.  
FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

CAMBRIDGE:  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1889

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## PREFACE.

THE plan of this edition is the same as that of Bk XXI. (Cambridge University Press, 1888). I have again to acknowledge my very large debt to the edition of Weissenborn<sup>1</sup>. I have also consulted the notes of Wölfflin (Wlf.), of Capes (C.), and Dowdall (D.) published by Deighton and Bell, 1888.

The text is that of Weissenborn (seventh edition by Müller).

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
1889.

<sup>1</sup> The acknowledgments in the notes (W.) do not represent the extent of my debt to Weissenborn.



## INTRODUCTION. I.<sup>1</sup>

### SOURCES OF LIVY'S NARRATIVE.

AS it is Livy's practice to follow one authority in particular for a section of his work and then to turn to another, the trustworthiness of his narrative varies with that of the authority whom he is using at the time, and it would be important if it were possible to refer each portion of his history to the source whence it is drawn. Livy's authorities for the third decade appear to have been as follows.

1. Q. Fabius Pictor wrote annals of Rome in Greek from the earliest times down to his own. He fought in the Gallic war 225 B.C., and the description of the Battle of Telamon in Polybius, which seems to be drawn from the account of an eye-witness, may be due to him. He is twice referred to in the present book. In c. 7. 4 Livy, referring to the battle of Trasimene, or to the estimates of the slain, says *Fabium aequalem temporibus huiusce belli potissimum auctorem habui*. In c. 57. 5 Fabius is mentioned as being sent to consult the oracle of Delphi after the Battle of Cannae. Being, as appears from this, in a fairly prominent position, he must have had facilities for acquiring information. On the other hand Polybius accuses him of partiality to the Romans. As a kinsman of

<sup>1</sup> The idea of this Introduction was suggested to me by the second Introduction in Livy XXIII.—IV., Macmillan, 1885, edited by Mr Macaulay, with whose conclusions with regard to Livy and Polybius I agree.

Q. Fabius Maximus he would not be disposed to underrate his exploits, and perhaps those passages in this book (e.g. c. 12. 23. 11—14. 30) may be due to Fabius Pictor.

2. L. Cincius Alimentus, another annalist, was Praetor in Sicily in 209 B.C., and was taken prisoner by Hannibal (cf. XXI. 38. 3 *qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit*).

3. Silenus of Calatia wrote a work called Σικελικά and another on Roman history, in Greek. He accompanied Hannibal during his Italian campaigns (Nepos, *Hann.* 13 *duo qui cum eo in castris fuerunt, simulque vixerunt, Silenus et Sosilus Lacedaemoniensis*. Of Sosilus we know nothing). Cicero says (*de Div.* I. 2. 4) *res Hannibalis diligentissime persecutus est*. Livy cites him once, XXVI. 49, but probably did not use him directly.

4. C. Acilius Glabrio, quaestor in 203 B.C., wrote annals in Greek. He is referred to once in this book 61. 5 (cf. Cic. *de Off.* III. 115), but not by name, and once by name XXV. 39. 12.

5. Far more important is Polybius, son of Lycortas, born at Megalopolis in Arcadia. He wrote a history of the period 220—146 B.C., being a record of the subjugation of the Mediterranean nations by Rome. Five of the 40 books of which it consisted remain entire. Of the first 3 books, which are introductory, the 3rd corresponds to the 21st and 22nd of Livy. After the conquest of Macedonia he was brought to Rome among 1000 Achaeans to answer the charge of having assisted Perseus. He remained in Italy 167—151 B.C., and was an intimate friend of Scipio Africanus minor. He had thus an opportunity of conversing with the men, or the sons of the men, who had been principal actors in the events he described (III. 48. 12). He has deservedly won a name for impartiality; still he may have received from men of the Scipionic circle an unfair impression with regard to such a popular leader as Flaminius. With a view to the writing of his history he travelled in Sicily, Spain, Gaul, and even beyond the pillars of Hercules, III. 59. Although a careful enquirer he had not a 'geographical eye', and personal investigations on the scene of an action may in some cases have confirmed him in a mistaken conception with regard

to it. (See Appendix on the battle of Trasimene.) Livy cites him only once by name in this decade, XXX. 45. 5, as *Polybius, haudquaquam spernendus auctor*, but this gives no idea of the extent of his obligations to him.

6. L. Calpurnius Piso, consul 133 B.C., wrote annals of Rome from its foundation down to his own time, in a meagre style (Cic. *Brutus* 27). He is once cited by Livy.

7. L. Coelius Antipater was a contemporary of the Gracchi, circ. 120 B.C. He was the first of the annalists who aimed at rhetorical ornament. *Addidit historiae maiorem sonum, De or.* II. 54. *Paulo inflavit vehementius, De Legg.* I. 2. 6. His seven books were devoted wholly to the Second Punic War, and, according to Cic. *de Div.* I. 49, he used Silenus (*in Sileni quem Coelius sequitur Graeca historia*). Livy cites him by name only once in this work, but three times in Bk. 21, and ten times altogether in the second decade. Probably he uses him pretty constantly.

8. Q. Claudius Quadrigarius wrote annals from the destruction of Rome by the Gauls down to the time of Sulla. Livy refers to him once in the decade as the translator of Acilius, XXV. 39. 12.

9. Valerius Antias lived in the former half of the last century B.C. He wrote a history of Rome from the earliest times down to his own in 75 books. Livy used him a good deal in the first decade, but then seems to have become suspicious of his veracity. He reproves him on several occasions for exaggeration, especially in the matter of numbers, e.g. XXVI. 49. 4 *adeo nullus mentiendi modus est*. XXXVI. 38. 7 *ubi ut in numero scriptori parum fidei est, quia in augendo eo non alius quis intemperantior est*. There is probably an allusion to him in this sense, 7. 4. He is cited seven times in the third decade.

10. There is a single reference to another annalist Clodius Licinius (XXIX. 22), whom Cicero calls the successor of Coelius Antipater.

It is impossible to decide exactly what parts of Livy's

narrative are due to each of these authorities, as with one exception their works no longer exist. But it is possible and important to form an opinion as to the relations of Livy and Polybius, the second half of whose third book covers the same period as Livy's 22nd. In the 4th decade, where he is dealing with the affairs of Greece and Asia, Livy undoubtedly takes Polybius as his chief authority. He paraphrases or even translates large sections of Polybius' work, and only leaves him in order to note points in which the Roman annalists differ from him. But in the 3rd decade the case is different. Much of Livy's narrative comes from other authorities than Polybius. Even where Polybius seems to be the authority used divergencies from his account are found (cf. the account of events in Spain, c. 19—22, and notes). From this circumstance it has been concluded that Livy did not use Polybius directly in the 3rd decade, and that their resemblances and divergencies are to be explained on the theory that both drew from a common source. Polybius, it is thought, used Silenus directly, while Livy drew from Coelius Antipater who followed Silenus (see above). But there are some passages in which the verbal agreement between Polybius and Livy is very close. Compare the account of Hannibal's descent from the Alps, XXI. 25. 10—27, with that of Polybius III. 54. 4—55. On the theory just mentioned Livy must have copied Coelius, and Coelius Silanus exactly, while the latter must have been followed as closely by Polybius. It is more natural to suppose that Livy did use Polybius directly in the 3rd decade, though not so continuously as in the 4th; firstly because there were more authorities (notably, Fabius and Coelius Antipater) for the Second Punic War than for the wars in the East, and secondly because in dealing with events in Italy Polybius did not appear to Livy so distinctly superior to the Roman annalists, as he did when recording the affairs of Greece and Asia (cf. XXXIII. 10. 10 *Polybium secuti sumus, cum omnium Romanarum rerum, tum praecipue in Graecia gestarum*). For the same reasons even in passages where he does use Polybius, Livy does not hesitate to make alterations on minor points.

The results of the conclusion are twofold. Firstly, in passages where Polybius appears to be Livy's authority we may use him freely for interpreting Livy. Secondly, where Livy's account agrees on the whole with that of Polybius but not altogether (as in the account of Hannibal's escape from Campania, c. 16. 5—14, and in that of the battle of Cannae 44—49), we should not oppose Livy's view to Polybius as if it represented an independent view, instead of being based on Polybius and supplemented by other authorities.

In accordance with this conclusion those parts of Bk. 22 in which Livy appears to follow Polybius have been assigned to him. As a rule Livy prefers Polybius as an authority for events in the field, while he draws his information as to events in Rome from Roman annalists.

C. 1—7. 6. The passage of the marshes and the battle of Trasimene from Polybius except I. 5—20, the account of prodigies and religious measures: 6. 1—4, the mention of the earthquake during the battle, and 3. 14, of an omen to Flaminius before it; the former certainly, the latter probably due to Coelius.

C. 7, 8. Effects of the defeat in Rome, from Roman authorities.

9. 1—6. Hannibal's march. Polybius.

9. 7—12. Religious measures and military tactics of Fabius. Roman sources.

11—15. 11. Hannibal's entry into Campania, complaints against Fabius. Roman.

15. 12—18. Hannibal's escape from Campania, mostly from Polybius.

19—22. Events in Spain during 217 B.C. Polybius.

23—27. Discontent with Fabius, elevation of Minucius. Roman. 24. 11—14, perhaps from Fabius Pictor.

28—30. Operations in the field. Polybius. Except 29, 7—30. 6, submission of Minucius to Fabius.

32. 1—4. Polybius.

32. 4—40. 4. Events in Rome during the winter 217—16. Roman.

40. 5—43. Manœuvres of Hannibal to entrap Varro. Roman. W. thinks 40. 7—42 due to Valerius Antias, 43 to Coelius.

43—50. The Battle of Cannae. Mostly Polybius, except 48. 2—4, the stratagem of the Numidians, and 49. 1—12, the death of Paulus.

50—54. 6. The surrender of the camps. Roman.

54. 6—61. 10. Events in Rome. The deputation from the prisoners. Roman.

61. 10—15. The results of the battle of Cannae. Polybius.

## INTRODUCTION. II.

### ON THE STYLE AND GRAMMAR OF LIVY.

I. *Style.* Cicero was born in 106 B.C., Livy in 59 B.C., Tacitus in 54 <sup>A.D.</sup> B.C. In more than one respect Livy occupies an intermediate position between Cicero and Tacitus, partaking of the characteristics of each.

(a) In his oratorical works Cicero perfected the period. Livy adapted the period to historical narration. Thus in Livy we constantly find sentences in which a number of clauses expressing the circumstances of the main act are artistically grouped in subordination to a clause which expresses the main act itself. Look for instance at such a sentence as that in 11. 3. Its framework consists of an ablative absolute and a main verb + an ablative absolute (on which depends a clause introduced by *ut*), another ablative absolute (on which depends a clause introduced by *ne*), a deponent perfect participle, a clause introduced by *cum*, and lastly the main verb. See also 3. 7; 4. 4; 9. 2; 16. 3; 25. 16.

In some of Livy's sentences, so many are the subordinate clauses, the temporal adverbs *cum*, *ubi*, *postquam*, are called into requisition one after another. In 29. 7 *cum* is repeated. It may be remarked that in the Ciceronian period *cum* is used, if at all, generally at the beginning of the sentence, and if



necessary is taken up again with *cumque*. In Livy the sentence very often opens with a participial clause, and the use of *cum* is deferred till later. See 9. 7; 11. 3; 22. 7. Participial clauses are used far more freely by Livy than by Cicero. Generally speaking the periods of the former are far more elaborate. The reason for this is obvious. Cicero had to speak in such sentences as could be readily followed by his auditors. The relations of the several subordinate clauses to the main act, and the general result of the whole, could be studied by Livy's readers at leisure. Sometimes the elaboration of the period is carried to a fault. In his desire to make it as full as possible Livy on reaching what should be logically the main clause, sometimes makes this clause also subordinate, expressing the action by a participle or subjunctive with *cum*, or making its subject the object of the verb of the added clause. Thus two principal actions are expressed in the same sentence and that which is expressed by the main verb is not that to which the clauses describing the circumstances are logically subordinate, though they are so grammatically.

In this book there is no good instance of such a sentence. Cf. however XXI. 33. 9 (Hannibal) *decurrit ex superiore loco et cum infesto impetu fudisset hostem suis quoque tumultum auxit*. 'Hannibal charged down from the height and'—did what? 'defeated the enemy', one would expect. No. 'Increased the confusion of his own men'. What a fiasco! Yet look again, Hannibal 'defeated the enemy' after all. *Fudit hostem* is what really corresponds to *decurrit*, but Livy anxious to include another step in the narration in the same period, inserts *cum* and throws *fudit* into a subordinate clause while expressing by the main verb an act which is really only supplementary. The meaning is 'and defeated the enemy, though at the same time he threw his men into confusion'<sup>1</sup>.

Cf. with this 13. 3, where *moverunt* expresses the very opposite result to that which we should have expected from *cum res maior esset quam auctores*. On this clause *dubius erat* would

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Madvig, *Kleine Philologische Schriften*, Essay v. p. 356, where other instances are given.

have followed more appropriately, but a new clause is included in the period expressing the final result of the negotiations, and *dubius* is expressed as an accusative governed by the verb of that clause.

See also the sentence in 18. 8—10 note, and 2. 9—10.

(b) Livy found no imitator of his periodic style. On the other hand he may in some respects be regarded as the predecessor of Tacitus. The characteristics of Tacitus' style have been summed up in the words *brevitas, varietas, poeticus color*. *Brevitas* Livy has not. Quintilian speaks of the *lactea ubertas* of his language. But while in Cicero everything is balanced and uniform there are not wanting in Livy traces of that *varietas* which is constantly meeting us in Tacitus; e.g. 14. 4 *sedendo aut votis*. 13. 10 *ingentem fugam, terrorem latius*. 24. 10 *simul castris praesidio et circumspectans*. 28. 1 *et perfugis indicantibus et explorantem*. Again in Livy's language we may see an approximation to poetic diction—due no doubt to the study of Vergil and Horace who now became the literary models—which becomes still more marked in the pages of the Histories and the Annals. E.g. *urgente fato* 43. 10 may be compared with Verg. *A.* II. 653 *futoque urgenti incumbere vellet*. *Exsors culpa* 44. 7 with *A.* VI. 428 *dulcis vitae exsortes*. *Una salutis via* 36. 7 with *A.* VI. 96; II. 387 *via prima salutis*. Cf. also 50. 10 *haec ubi dicta dedit*. Again *aperientibus classem promuntoriis* 19. 8 is a poetical expression. These few instances drawn from the present book alone may serve to indicate Livy's relation to the two other great writers of Latin prose.

II. *Grammar*. Livy stands at the beginning of the silver age. A few points may be noticed in which he diverges from the stricter usage of the Republican writers.

The VERB. *a*. The subjunctive is used with *donec* and *priusquam* of facts in the past, where there is no idea of purpose or expectation. Cf. 8. 1; 31. 2; 38. 6; *ib.* 8.

*b*. The subjunctive is used with *ubi, cum, quicumque* etc. in a frequentative sense.

2. 7 *ubi procubuissent*; 38. 3 *ubi convenissent*; 12. 2 and 8.

*c.* Sequence of tenses. The perfect subjunctive is used with a consecutive *ut* although a secondary tense has preceded. 5. 8 *tantus fuit ardor ut nemo senserit*; 56. 4. Cf. 21. 8.

*d.* Analogous to this are changes from secondary to primary sequence in *oratio obliqua*, made for the sake of increased vividness.

25. 4 *referret...sit*; 32. 8 *duxissent...iudicaverint*.

*e.* With regard to the form of the verb. *forem* is used freely and becomes a mere synonym for *essem*. In Sallust and Nepos *forem* is hardly ever thus used except where there is a condition, or where the proposition refers to the future. Cicero and Caesar avoid *forem* altogether.

It is used of conditional acts, 40. 9; 41. 3; 61. 5.

In propositions referring to the future, 38. 9; 57. 5.

But to form a simple pluperfect subjunctive, not expressing a condition, in 9. 9 *quod votum foret*; 32. 6.

*fui, fueram* are used for *sum, eram* with participles, not only where the latter are used adjectively and express a state, but also where participle and auxiliary together express an act.

13. 2 *dimissi fuerant*; 23. 3 *pugnatum fuerat*; 36. 8; 42. 11; 54. 7; 57. 2. In 54. 1 on the other hand *sparsi* may express a state, cf. 24. 2.

PARTICIPLES. These are more freely used than heretofore.

*a.* In agreement with a substantive, with the meaning of an abstract substantive and a genitive depending on it.

1. 8 *prodigia nuntiata*; 6. 9 *dispulsa nebula*; 26. 7; 34. 2; 37. 2; 42. 1; 47. 8; 52. 1.

*b.* = A conditional clause.

2. 3 *necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent*; 6. 10 *conspectos*; 28. 8 *egressi*; 60. 9 *confertos*.

*c.* Absolutely, without a substantive.

4. 4 *inexplorato*; 55. 3 *palam facto*.

*d.* Fut. participle is used without *sum* expressing purpose.

12. 13 *commissurus*.

*e.* The present participle is used substantivally, especially in the genitive plural. 5. 5 *pugnantium globo...fugientium agmen*; 7. 10; 7. 12; 19. 9; 42. 2; 43. The participle thus used is

often best rendered by an abstract substantive, e. g. 29. 1 *clamore paventium*; 5. 4 *terrentium paventiumque clamores*.

*f.* Here may be classed the omission of participles, or relative clauses, so that (i) adverbs, (ii) substantives governed by a preposition are used attributively.

i. 7. 11 *postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus*; 17. 3 *quo repente discursu*; 20. 5; 30. 6; 39. 11.

ii. 8. 1 *ad Trasumennum pugnam*; 9. 5 *circa Arpos regionem*; 15. 5; 16. 2; 23. 4; 25. 7; 37. 1 *ab Hierone classis*; 38. 5; 53. 2; 58. 1; 59. 8; 61. 4.

The GERUNDIVE is used in the sense of a present participle 3. 10; 14. 7 *qui indignando...deos ciebamus*; 52. 9 *laniando hostem expirasset*; 55. 4.

SUBSTANTIVES. *a.* The ablative of place where is often used without a preposition.

4. 8 *campo sederat*; 15. 4 *iugis reducit*; 18. 6 *iugis ducebat*; 43. 9 *campis vehit*.

*b.* The same may be said of the ablative of separation.

19. 8 *procul portu*.

ADJECTIVES. *a.* Used substantivally in neut. plur. especially where *loca* is understood; 6. 5 *omnia arta praeruptaque*; 39. 13.

*b.* Used substantivally in the neuter, with a genitive depending. 32. 1 *medium auctumni*; 45. 1 *ad multum diei*.

*c.* Adverbially, 4. 4 *nebula densior sederat*; 6. 4 *infesto venienti*; 7. 13; 32. 2; 45. 7.

*d.* The combination of prepositions with neut. adjectives and participles becomes more common; 2. 8 *in sicco*; 3. 1; 4. 3 *in aperto*; 4. 4 *ex adverso*; 15. 5; 33. 4; 59. 4; 41. 1. In most cases a substantive *loco* might be supplied. Sometimes the expression has become purely adverbial. 7. 4 *auctum ex vano*; 41. 1 *ex praeeparato*.

PRONOUNS. *alius*=*reliquus*; 4. 7; 11. 9; 30. 2; 46. 5; 56. 6. *quicunque* is used without a verb, 58. 5.

ADVERBS. *ceterum* which properly=*du reste* and is resumptive as in 53. 1, is used by Livy, as by Sallust, adversatively=*sed*; 1. 4; 5. 3; 17. 6; 18. 1 etc.

T. LIVII  
AB VRBE CONDITA

LIBER XXII.

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

IAM ver adpetebat ; *itaque* Hannibal ex hibernis movit, 1  
et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Ap-  
penninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum in-  
genti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos  
5 praedae populationumque conciverat spes, post-  
quam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent  
agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse pre-  
mique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis  
videre, verterunt retro *in* Hannibalem ab Romanis odia ; 3  
10 petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude  
eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indicantium  
servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta  
capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. ceterum hic 4  
quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

15 Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus  
Martii magistratum iniit. ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, 5  
redintegrata in C. Flinium invidia est : duos se consules  
creasse, unum habere ; quod enim illi iustum imperium,

I. Hannibal leaves his winter-quarters. At Rome there are murmurs against Flaminius. Portents are announced, and measures are taken to expiate them.

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

6 quod auspiciū esse? magistratus id a domo, publicis  
 7 privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte  
 8 externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. auge- 5  
 bant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in  
 Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro  
 circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat,  
 arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo san-  
 9 guine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis 10  
 orbem minui visum, et Praeneste ardentes lapides caelo  
 cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo visas pugnantemque cum  
 10 luna solem, et Capenae duas interdū lunas ortas, et aquas  
 Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis  
 cruentis manasse *respersum* maculis, et Antii metentibus 15  
 11 cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum findi  
 velut magno hiātu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen  
 effulsisse; sortes sua sponte adtenuatas, unamque excidisse  
 12 ita scriptam 'Mavors telum suum concutit'; et per idem  
 tempus Romae signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra 20  
 luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli ardentis fuisse  
 13 lunaeque inter imbrem cadentis. inde minoribus etiam  
 dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam  
 factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese ver-  
 14 tisse. his, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in 25  
 15 curiam introductis consul de religione patres consuluit. de-  
 cretum, ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim lac-  
 tentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad  
 16 omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemviri libros  
 inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quem ad modum cordi esse divis 30  
 17 e carminibus praefarentur. decemvirorum monitu decretum  
 est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquā-

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

ginta fieret, *et* Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur, et Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia con- 18  
lata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum  
5 Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. haec ubi facta, 19  
decemviri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae  
10 inmolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum — et eum lectum senatores straverunt — et convivium publicum, ac per 20  
urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu 2  
15 dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos  
20 dies solito magis inundaverat, Hispanos et Afros et omne 3  
veterani robur exercitus admixtis ipsorum inpedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem inde cum expeditis Nu- 4  
25 midis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. primi, qua modo praeirent duces, 5  
per praealtas fluvii ac profundas voragines hausti paene limo inmergentesque se tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque 6  
30 sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant, *nec* aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis 7

II. Hannibal crosses the marshes of the Arno, with difficulty. He loses the sight of one eye.



[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia  
 passim morientes ; maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant  
 8 per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. cum omnia  
 obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent cor-  
 pora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper in- 5  
 9 cumbebant, *aut* iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim  
 acervi tantum, quod extaret aqua, quaerentibus ad quietem  
 10 parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. ipse Hannibal,  
 aeger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores  
 frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab 10  
 11 aqua extaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno uniore palus-  
 trique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec  
 tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

3 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tan-  
 dem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in 15  
 sicco potuit, castra locat ; certumque per prae-  
 missos exploratores habuit exercitum Roma-  
 num circa Arreti moenia esse. consulis deinde  
 consilia atque animum et situm regionum  
 itineraque et copias ad commeatus expedi- 20  
 endos et cetera, quae cognosse in rem erat,  
 3 summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exequabatur. regio  
 erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas  
 inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium  
 4 copia rerum opulenti ; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et 25  
 non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum  
 quidem satis metuens. hanc insitam ingenio eius temerita-  
 tem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu  
 5 aluerat. itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines con-  
 sulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum. quoque 30  
 pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Poenus  
 6 parat ; et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens medio Etruriae

III. *Wishing to make Flaminius fight Hannibal ravages the central plain of Etruria. Despite unfavourable omens Flaminius leaves Arretium in pursuit.*



[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

agro praedatum profectus quantam maximam vastitatem  
 potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Fla- 7  
 minius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum  
 vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri  
 5 agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam  
 vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana  
 moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria 8  
 magis quam speciosa suadentibus, ‘conlegam expectandum,  
 ut coniunctis exercitibus communi animo consilioque rem  
 10 gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab 9  
 effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum’, iratus se ex  
 consilio proripuit signumque simul itineri pugnaeque cum  
*proposuisset*, ‘immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus’ inquit; 10  
 ‘hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e  
 15 manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia  
 ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus  
 quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab  
 Arretio patres acciverint’. haec simul increpans cum ocus 11  
 signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus  
 20 repente conruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit.  
 territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omine in- 12  
 cipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi moliente  
 signifero convelli nequire. conversus ad nuntium ‘num 13  
 litteras quoque’ inquit ‘ab senatu adfers, quae me rem  
 25 gerere vetent? abi, nuntia effodiant signum, si ad convel-  
 lendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint’. incedere inde 14  
 agmen coepit primoribus, superquam quod dissenserant ab  
 consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto  
 ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei  
 30 intueretur.

Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasu- 4  
 mennumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

IV. Hannibal  
 2 reaches lake Tra-  
 sime before  
 Flaminius, and  
 occupies a de-  
 file between the  
 mountains and  
 the lake. The Ro-  
 mans enter it, and  
 are attacked. 3  
 iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias  
 acuat. et iam pervenerant ad loca nata  
 insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses  
 Trasumennus subit. via tantum interest per-  
 angusta, *velut* ad *id* ipsum de industria relicto 5  
 spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus;  
 inde colles insurgunt. ibi castra in aperto  
 locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret;  
 Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montis circum-  
 ducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumultis apte tegan- 10  
 tibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu  
 clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset,  
 inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis  
 superatis, postquam in patientiorem campum pandi agmen 15  
 coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit;  
 5 ab tergo ac super caput *haud* dispectae insidiae. Poenus,  
 ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circum-  
 fusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul  
 6 invadendi. qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucur- 20  
 rerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque inprovisa res fuit,  
 quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior  
 sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter  
 7 se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Ro-  
 manus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se 25  
 circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pug-  
 nari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri  
 5 arma stringique gladii possent. consul percussis omnibus

V. Flaminius  
 tries in vain to re-  
 store order. Each  
 man fights des-  
 perately for him-  
 self.  
 ipse satis ut in *re* trepida inpavidus turbatos  
 ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos cla- 30  
 mores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et,  
 quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut  
 inploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse;  
 per medias acies ferro viam fieri, et quo timoris minus  
 sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. ceterum prae strepitu  
 ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat,  
 tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines et locum  
 noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae  
 competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis  
 iis quam tecti. et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium  
 quam oculorum. ad gemitus vulneratorum ictusque cor-  
 porum aut armorum et mixtos terrentium paventiumque  
 clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. alii fugientes pug-  
 nantium globo inlati haerebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam  
 avertebat fugientium agmen. deinde, ubi in omnis partis  
 nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus,  
 a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque  
 nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi  
 quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova  
 de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes  
 hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post  
 signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut  
 cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobabat et animus  
 suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantus-  
 que fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut  
 eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas  
 partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnis, mare flu-  
 minibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnan-  
 tium senserit.

Tris ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa  
 consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. VI. Flaminius  
 eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, is slain and the  
 quacumque in parte premi ac laborare sen- rout begins. Some  
 climb the cliffs,

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

3 others take to the water. 6000 cut their way out but are pursued and surrender. serat suos, inpigre ferebat opem ; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomen erat — facie quoque noscitant consulem ‘*en*’ inquit ‘hic est’ popularibus suis, ‘qui legiones nostras ce-  
 4 cidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus. iam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo’, subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit ;  
 5 spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit ; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant ; per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alios alii praecipitantur.  
 6 pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis  
 7 in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umerisque extare possunt, sese inmergunt. fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam  
 8 capessere fugam inpulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe, erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant, atque ibi  
 9 ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur.  
 10 sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostes eruptione inpigre facta, ignari omnium, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere et, cum in tumultu quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna  
 11 pugnae esset, neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. itaque, ne in conspectos procul inmitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese abriperunt, postero die cum super

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides 12  
5 ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter 7  
paucas memorata populi Romani clades. quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis 2  
10 itineribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrimque] Rome at the news of the battle. 3  
ex vulneribus periere. multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex 4  
vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi,  
15 Fabium aequalem temporibus huiusce belli potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum, qui Latini nominis 5  
essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa  
20 magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. 6  
ma- 7  
tronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. et cum frequentis 25  
contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum 8  
M. Pomponius praetor 'pugna' inquit 'magna victi sumus'; et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius 9  
ab alio inpleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum  
30 magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. quot 10  
casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi

[I.—VII. *The war in Etruria, and the battle of Trasimene.*]

eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule  
meruerant, ignorantium, quae cuiusque suorum fortuna  
esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut  
11 timeat. postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior  
prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit aut suorum 5  
aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque  
obviis sciscitantes neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam  
12 ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. inde varios vultus  
digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut tristia  
nuntiabantur, gratulantisque aut consolantis redeuntibus 10  
domos circumfusus, feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia  
13 erant et luctus. unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente  
oblatam in complexu eius expirasse ferunt; alteram, cui  
mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad  
primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. 15  
14 senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occi-  
dentem solem in curia retinent consultantes, quoniam duce  
aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Cam-  
pania.*]

8 Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntia-  
tur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. 20  
Centenio proprætoe missa ad conlegam ab  
Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam  
ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab  
Hannibale circumventa. eius rei fama varie  
homines adfecit: pars occupatis maiore aagri- 25  
tudine animis levem ex conparatione priorum ducere recen-  
3 tem equitum iacturam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se  
aestimare, sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa  
4 magis quam *in* valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et

VIII. On the news of a further defeat, Fabius is appointed dictator, and Minucius master of the horse.

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

adfectae civitati quodcumque adversi incideret, non rerum  
magnitudine sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod adgra-  
varet, pati possent, aestimandum esse. itaque ad remedium 5  
iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem  
dicendum, civitas confugit. et quia et consul aberat, a quo  
uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis 6  
Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti [nec dicta-  
torem populo creare poterat], quod numquam ante eam  
diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium  
10 Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; his 7  
que negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis  
firmarent et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis videretur,  
pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penetibus  
dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

15 Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spole- 9  
tium venit. inde cum perpopulato agro urbem  
oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede  
suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae  
haud nimis prospere temptatae viribus, quanta  
20 moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum  
avertit iter non copia solum omnis generis fru-  
gum abundantem, sed refertum praeda, quam effuse avidi  
atque egentes rapiebant. ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, 4  
refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelio-  
25 que magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili adfectus.  
ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis 5  
quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum  
Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Paelig-  
nos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae  
30 regionem. Cn. Servilius consul levibus proeliis cum Gallis 6  
factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de con-

IX. Hannibal  
crosses Italy and  
enters Picenum.  
On Fabius' ad-  
vice the Sibylline  
books are con-  
sulted.



[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

legae exercitusque caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

- 7 Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magistratum iniit vocato senatu, ab dis orsus, cum edocuisset patres plus 5 negligentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque *quam* temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, 8 pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iube- 10 rentur. qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum 10 de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erucinae ac Menti vovendas esse et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum et ver sacrum 15 vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset, resque publica in 11 eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem ex conlegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea 10 ut mature fiant, curare iubet. his senatus con- 20 sultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus consulente conlegium praetore omnium primum populum consulendum de vere 2 sacro censet: iniussu populi voveri non posse. rogatus in haec verba populus: ‘velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? si res 25 publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, *sicut* velim eam esse salvam, servata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt, tum 3 donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium: quod ver adtulerit 30 ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quaeque profana

X. A *ver sacrum* is vowed. Other vows and ceremonies.



[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit. qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo 4 faxit, probe factum esto. si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, 5 profanum esto neque scelus esto; si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto; si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit; si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum 6 esto; si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto; si antidea, ac senatus populusque iusserit fieri, faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto'. eiusdem rei causa 7 ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus *trecentis triginta tribus* triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. votis rite 8 nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed 15 agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. tum lectisternium per triduum habitum 9 decemviris sacrorum curantibus. sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac 20 Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. tum aedes votae: Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius 10 Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.

25 Ita rebus divinis peractis tum de bello deque re publica 11 dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex 30 civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e

XI. Military measures. Fabius meets Servilius and takes 2 over his army. Servilius goes to Ostia to protect the coast with a fleet.

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

3 re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum  
ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. iis per magistrum equi-  
4 tum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. edicto-  
que proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque inmunita  
essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta; ex agris quoque demi- 5  
5 grarent omnes regionis eius, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis  
prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset,  
ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituque, cum  
ad Tiberim circa Oriculum prospexisset agmen consulem-  
que cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit, qui 10  
consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret.  
6 qui cum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem spe-  
ciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope  
oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe adlatae sunt,  
naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exer- 15  
citum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum  
7 captas esse. itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus  
navibusque, *quae* ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent,  
conpletis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium clas-  
8 sem ac litora Italiae tutari. magna vis hominum conscripta 20  
Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas  
9 militaris, in verba iuraverant. ex hoc urbano exercitu qui  
minores quinque et triginta annis erant in navis inpositi, alii,  
ut urbi praesiderent, relict.

12 Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato 25

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>XII. Fabius<br/>encamps near<br/>Hannibal, but<br/>2 will not be drawn<br/>into a battle.<br/>His tactics. He<br/>is accused of<br/>cowardice by Mi-<br/>nucius.</p> | <p>per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad con-<br/>veniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit.<br/>inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam<br/>Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa<br/>cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo 30<br/>loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae</p> |
|---|---|

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

se commissurus. quo primum die haud procul Arpis in 3  
 conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin  
 Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret.  
 sed ubi quieti omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu 4  
 5 mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem illos Martios  
 animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de  
 virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura 5  
 animum incessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini  
 Sempronique simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum  
 10 edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent.  
 et prudentiam quidem novi dictatoris extemplo timuit; con- 6  
 stantiam haud dum expertus agitare ac temptare animum  
 movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros  
 sociorum coepit; et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, 7  
 15 modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in  
 aequom posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta 8  
 agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitte-  
 ret eum neque congrediretur. castris, nisi quantum usus  
 necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec  
 20 pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae 9  
 statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo  
 militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus  
 praebebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum commit- 10  
 25 tebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto  
 coeptorum finitimo receptu adsuefaciebant territum pristinis  
 cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae  
 paenitere suae. sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam 11  
 sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil  
 aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio, morae ad rem publi-  
 30 cam praecipitandam habebat. ferox rapidusque consiliis ac 12  
 lingua inmodicus primo inter paucos, dein propalam in

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, conpellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

- 13 Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum 5  
depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit; in-  
ritat etiam de industria ducem *Romanum*, si  
forte accensum tot indignitatibus *ac* cladibus  
sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen possit.  
inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, 10  
qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale di-  
missique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant,  
multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque  
Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium ani-  
3 mos. hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovis- 15  
set, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam  
auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac  
diffidentem, tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, move-  
4 runt. monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfir-  
marent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire 20  
5 ad se dimisit. ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem  
ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset,  
exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum.  
6 sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum *pronun-*  
*tiatione os*, *Casilinum* pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit; 25  
aversusque ab suo itinere per Callifanum Allifanumque et  
7 Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. ubi cum  
montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset,  
8 vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. cum is  
Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cogni- 30  
9 tus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; vir-

XIII. Hannibal enters Samnium. He is induced by some Campanian prisoners to cross into Campania. His guide brings him by mistake to Casilinum instead of Casinum.

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

gisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem  
sublato, castris communitis Maharbalem cum equitibus in  
agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit. usque ad aquas Si- 10  
nuessanas populatio ea pervenit. ingentem cladem, fugam 11  
5 tamen terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is  
terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, vide-  
licet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnue-  
bant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

Ut vero, *postquam* ad Volturnum flumen castra sunt 14  
10 posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager  
villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga  
Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de  
integro seditio accensa; quieverant enim per  
paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum  
15 agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam popula-  
tionibus Campaniam crediderant. [ut vero in  
extrema iuga Massici montis ventum, et hostes  
sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta  
urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, 'spectatum huc' inquit 4  
20 Minucius 'ut ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et  
incendia, venimus? nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium  
quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri  
miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam 5  
nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extre-  
25 mis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia  
iam huc progressus? tantum pro degeneramus a patribus 6  
nostris, ut praeter quam *nuper* oram illi Punicas vagari clas-  
ses dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam  
hostium, Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam vide-  
30 mus? qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homi- 7  
nes tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moe-

XIV. The Ro-  
man army on  
the Massic mount  
sees the Falernian  
plain being ra- 2  
vaged. Minucius  
makes a speech  
reproaching Fa-  
bius with his in-  
action. 3

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

8 nia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem lenti spectamus. fumus  
ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit;  
strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nos  
quam deorum invocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per  
aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum ducimus conditi  
9 nubibus silisque. si hoc modo peragrando cacumina sal-  
tusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic  
novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quae-  
situs, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum  
10 Roma esset, quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hanni- 10  
11 bali ac Poenis totiens servaverint maiores nostri. sed vir ac  
vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate pa-  
trum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset  
satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, de-  
scendit in aecum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc 15  
busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gal-  
12 lorum legiones. quid? post multos annos cum ad Furculas  
Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum  
tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an  
Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacescendo victorem 20  
hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus iugum superbo  
13 Samniti inposuit? modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam cele-  
ritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die, quam hostem vidit,  
classem gravem commeatibus, inpeditam suomet ipsam  
14 instrumento atque adparatu, oppressit? stultitia est sedendo 25  
aut votis debellari credere posse; arma capias oportet et  
descendas in aecum et vir cum viro congregiaris. audendo  
atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis,  
15 quae timidi cauta vocant'. haec velut contionanti Minucio  
circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum mul- 30  
titude, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolveban-

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

tur; ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praelaturos.

Fabius, pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostis inten- 15  
tus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat.

5 quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis  
sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cuncta-  
tionem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem  
consiliorum aestatis reliquom extrahit, ut Han-  
nibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti cer-  
10 taminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret,  
quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non per-  
petuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis  
quam necessariis fructibus. haec per exploratores relata  
Fabio. cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intra- 3  
15 verat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et  
Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Voltur-  
no flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse 4  
iugis iisdem exercitum reducit misso exploratum cum quad-  
ringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. qui, ex 5  
20 turba iuvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem ma-  
gistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex  
tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numi-  
das *prospexit ac* per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, ex- 6  
templo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque prae-  
25 cepta dictatoris, qui, *quantum* tuto posset, progressum prius  
recipere sese iusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret.  
Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra 7  
prope ipsa eum cum fatigue equorum atque hominum  
pertraxere. inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris 8  
30 imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum prius, quam ad  
coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostis, quinque ferme milia

XV. Fabius re-  
mains firm. He  
prepares to pre-  
vent Hannibal  
leaving Campa-  
nia. Mancinus  
whom he had sent 2  
to reconnoitre,  
advances too far  
and is routed.



[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

- 9 continenti cursu secutus est fugientis. Mancinus, postquam  
nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse,  
cohortatus suos in proelium rediit omni parte virium inpar.  
10 itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri  
effuso [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus 5  
ad dictatorem perfugerunt.
- 11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad  
firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas  
coactus fauces inminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae  
12 limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. coniunctis 10  
exercitiis dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam defe-  
runt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. duo inde milia hostes  
16 aberant. postero die Poeni quod viae inter bina castra erat  
2 agmine complevere. cum Romani sub ipso  
constitissent vallo haud dubie aequiore loco, 15  
successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equiti-  
busque ad lacessendum hostem. carptim Poeni  
et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnare;  
3 restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna  
et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit 20  
voluntate. ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.  
4 inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum obsessa, cum  
Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum  
Romanis commeatus subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana  
saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas hiber- 25  
5 naturus esset. nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti.  
itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique  
montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Ro-  
6 manus inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium  
oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commen- 30  
tus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit.

XVI. The Carthaginians attack the Romans without success. It appears that they are shut in. To escape Hannibal devises a stratagem.



[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris 7  
conlectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeli-  
gantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos 8  
inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. ad duo milia ferme 8  
boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut nocte id  
armentum accensis cornibus ad montis ageret, maxime, si  
posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto 17  
ante signa acti. ubi ad radices montium vias-  
10 que angustas ventum est, signum extemplo  
datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos  
concitentur montis. et metus ipse relucens  
flammae a capite calorque iam ad vivom ad  
imaque cornua veniens velut stimulos furore  
15 agebat boves. quo repente discursu haud  
secus quam silvis montibusque accensis omnia  
circa virgulta ardere; capitumque irrita quassatio excitans  
flammas hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat.  
qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis 4  
20 montibus ac super se quosdam ignis conspexere, circumven-  
tos se esse rati praesidio excessere; qua minime densae  
micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa  
montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gre-  
gibus inciderunt. et primo, cum procul cernerent, veluti 5  
25 flammam spirantium miraculo adtoniti constiterunt; deinde, 6  
ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum  
maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. levi quoque arma-  
turae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros  
pugnam incipientis ad lucem tenuit. interea toto agmine 7  
30 Hannibal transducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu  
hostium oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

XVII. Oxen  
with lighted fag-  
gots on their  
horns are driven  
up the mountain  
Callicula. The  
Romans who  
hold the pass re-  
tire. Hannibal  
crosses and 3  
reaches Allifae.

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

- 18 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse  
 ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certa-  
 mine suos munimentis tenuit. luce prima sub  
 iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab  
 suis levem armaturam facile — etenim numero 5  
 aliquantum praestabant — Romani superas-  
 sent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum  
 remissa ab Hannibale supervenisset. ea ad-  
 suetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque  
 aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum 10  
 habitu campestem hostem, gravem armis statariumque,  
 pugnae genere facile elusit. ita haudquaquam pari certa-  
 mine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani ali-  
 quot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.
- 5 Fabius quoque movit castra transgressusque saltum 15  
 6 super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. tum per Sam-  
 nium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelig-  
 nos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium ag-  
 men urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec  
 7 congregiendi. ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apu- 20  
 liam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia con-  
 lapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in  
 8 Larinate agro castra communiit. inde sacrorum causa Ro-  
 mam revocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac  
 prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio 25  
 9 quam fortunae confidat et se potius ducem quam Sempro-  
 nium Flaminiumque imitetur; ne nihil actum censeret ex-  
 tracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quo-  
 que plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo  
 10 proficere; haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste 30  
 vinci desisse ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus — haec

XVIII. Han-  
 2 nibal recrosses  
 Italy and occu-  
 pies Gereonium.  
 Fabius departs  
 for Rome, cau-  
 tioning Minucius  
 against giving  
 battle.

[VIII.—XVIII. *Fabius dictator. The war in central Italy, and Campania.*]

nequiquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

[XIX.—XXII. *Events in Spain during 217 B.C.*]

Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania 19  
quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est.

5 Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a  
fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem  
adiectis quadraginta navium classem Himilconi  
tradit atque ita Carthagine profectus naves  
prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat

10 paratus configere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occur-  
risset. Cn. Scipio, postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem 4  
audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter  
ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus,  
delecto milite ad naves inposito quinque et triginta navium

15 classe ire obviam hosti pergit. altero ab Tarracone die *ad* 5  
stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi  
amnis pervenit. inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae  
praemissae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis  
castraque in ripa posita. itaque ut inprovidos incautosque 6

20 universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad  
hostem vadit. multas et locis altis positas turris Hispania  
habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones  
utuntur. inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum 7  
signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris

25 quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu  
remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus  
classem promunturiis, cum repente eques alius super alium 8  
ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis  
suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expec-  
30 tantis, conscendere naves propeere atque arma capere iubet:

XIX. A Car-  
thaginian army 2  
and fleet advance  
from New Car- 3  
thage. Cn. Sci-  
pio surprises the  
fleet at the mouth  
of the Ebro.

[XIX.—XXII. *Events in Spain during 217 B.C.*]

9 classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse. haec equi-  
 tes dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum  
 omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu strepunt  
 ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium  
 10 magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. vixdum 5  
 omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras  
 evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, raptimque  
 omnia ac praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica mi-  
 nisteria inpediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare  
 11 arma miles prohibetur. et iam Romanus non adpropinqua- 10  
 bat modo, sed derexerat etiam in pugnam naves. itaque  
 non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi  
 tumultu turbati, temptata verius pugna quam inita in fugam  
 12 averterunt classem. et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et  
 tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in 15  
 litus passim naves egerunt atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore  
 excepti partim armati partim inermes ad instructam per litus  
 aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae  
 20 erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae. Romani, quam-  
 quam terra hostium erat, armatamque aciem 20  
 toto praetentam in litore cernebant, haud  
 cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem,  
 navis omnis, quae non aut perfregerant proras  
 litori inlisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas  
 puppibus in altum extraxere, ad quinque et 25  
 viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. neque id  
 pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una  
 levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant.  
 4 itaque ad Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab  
 navibus in terram facta. cum urbem vi cepissent captam- 30  
 5 que diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt atque omnem  
 agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta

XX. The Ro-  
 mans are victo-  
 rious. Their fleet  
 which now com-  
 2 mands the sea  
 proceeds along  
 the coast to Car-  
 thage, and other  
 places. Scipio  
 3 receives envoys  
 from all parts of  
 Spain. Hasdru-  
 bal retreats to  
 Lusitania.

[XIX.—XXII. *Events in Spain during 217 B.C.*]

muro portisque incenderunt. inde iam praeda gravis ad 6  
Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti *erat*, ad  
rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. quod satis in usum  
fuit sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. nec continentis 7  
modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmis-  
sum. ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequiquam 8  
summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem inritam frustra teri  
tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, di- 9  
reptis aliquot incensisque vicis, maiore quam ex continenti  
10 praeda parta cum in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus  
insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. inde 10  
flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo  
omnium populorum, qui *cis* Hiberum incolunt, multorum et  
ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt; sed qui vere dicionis 11  
15 imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis populi, amplius  
fuere centum viginti. igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis 12  
fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progres-  
sus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquom aestatis tempus 21  
20 fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeter-  
quam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avi-  
daque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius  
Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum regulus fue-  
rat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad  
25 maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum  
pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populan-  
dum venerunt. adversus eos tribuni militum  
cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi cer-  
tamine ut tumultuarium manum fudere mille hominibus  
30 occisis, quibusdam captis magnaue parte armis exuta. hic 5  
tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis  
Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. castra Punica in agro 6

XXI. Man-  
donius and In-  
dibilis come to  
ravage the terri-  
tory of Roman  
allies, but are  
routed. Hasdru-  
bal when about  
to assist them  
is attacked and  
twice defeated by  
the Celtiberi. 4

[XIX.—XXII. *Events in Spain during 217 B.C.*]

- Illergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant,  
 7 cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae *miserant* legatos obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginensium valido exercitu invadunt. tria 5 oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.
- 22 Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab 10 senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo milibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. ibi 15 milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginensibus Celtiberico bello, haud cunctanter Iberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso hoste Sa- 20 guntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio.
- 5 id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. eo vinculo Hispania 25 nam vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenitum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione venientem ad hostis nihil aliud quam unum 30 vile atque infame corpus esse ratus id agebat, ut quam maxumum emolumentum novis sociis esset. circumspectis

## XXII. Cn.

Scipio joined by Publius marches to Saguntum where hostages from the whole of Spain are confined. By the treachery of one Abelux they come into the possession of the Romans who restore them to the Spaniards.

[XIX.—XXII. *Events in Spain during 217 B.C.*]

igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere,  
obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam  
rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum His-  
paniae amicitiam. sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis 9  
5 sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum  
arte adgreditur. castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat 10  
Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. ibi eum  
in secretum abductum velut ignorantem monet, quo statu sit  
res: metum continuasse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia 11  
10 procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana  
esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque,  
quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse.  
miranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum tantae 12  
rei donum posset esse, 'obsides' inquit 'in civitates remitte.  
15 id et privatim parentibus, quorum maxumum nomen in 13  
civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. volt 14  
sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat  
fidem. ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihi-  
met deposco ipse, ut opera quoque inpena consilium adiu-  
20 vem meum, et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper  
gratiam possim adiciam'. homini non ad cetera Punica 15  
ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hos-  
tium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis  
et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret, expromit, 16  
25 et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto ad  
obsides tradendos Saguntum redit. diem insequentem ab-  
sumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis.  
dimissus cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, 17  
constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis cus-  
30 todibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in praeparatas  
sua fraude insidias ducit. in castra Romana perducti; 18  
cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare



[XIX.—XXII. *Events in Spain during 217 B.C.*]

constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo si Carthagi-  
 19 niensium nomine sic ageretur. maior aliquanto Romanorum  
 gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium  
 fuerat. illos enim gravis superbosque in rebus secundis ex-  
 20 pertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus  
 primo adventu incognitus ante ab re clementi liberalique  
 initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videba-  
 21 tur socios mutasse. itaque ingenti consensu defectionem  
 omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems,  
 quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in 10  
 tecta coegit, intervenisset.

[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

23 Haec in Hispania [quoque] secunda aestate Punici belli  
 gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus  
 Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabi fecisset; quae  
 2 XXIII. Fabius  
 is unpopular at  
 Rome for his  
 caution, also be-  
 cause (1) Hanni-  
 bal leaves his  
 property unin-  
 3 jured, (2) he  
 agrees to ran-  
 som some cap-  
 tives without  
 consulting the  
 senate. He raises  
 the money by the  
 4 sale of his estate.  
 ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura 15  
 habebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum dele-  
 gisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione  
 non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter  
 civis armatos pariter togatosque, utique post-  
 quam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum 20  
 laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu  
 pugnatum fuerat. [accesserant duae res ad  
 augendam invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac  
 dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager  
 dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo fer- 25  
 rum ignemque et vim omnem hostilem abstineri iussit, ut  
 5 occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset, altera ipsius  
 facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non expectata in eo sena-  
 tus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam



[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

laudem verso. in permutandis captivis, quod sic primo 6  
Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum  
Poenumque, ut quae pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti  
pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret. ducentis 7  
5 quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus  
recepisset, argentumque pro eis debitum saepe iactata in  
senatu re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius  
erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto 8  
filio vendidit fidemque publicam inpendio privato exsolvit.

10 Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae 9  
atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat  
tectae, in stativis erat. inde frumentatum duas exercitus 10  
partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat  
simul castris praesidio et circumspectans, necunde impetus  
15 *in* frumentatores fieret. Romanus tunc exerci- 24  
tus in agro Larinati erat. praeerat Minucius  
magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum  
est, ad urbem dictatore. ceterum castra, quae  
in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam  
20 in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro in-  
genio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut  
in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictas  
cum levi praesidio fieret. nec Hannibalem  
fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem,  
25 et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. ipse au- 4  
tem—quod minime quis crederet—, cum hostis propius esset,  
tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris re-  
tentis dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo 5  
ferme a Gereonio milia in tumultum hosti conspectum, ut  
30 intentum *se* sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret,  
tutandos. propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum 6  
castris tumultus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam

XXIV. Han-  
nibal first ad-  
vances near the  
Roman camp,  
and then retreats.  
Minucius gives  
2 battle, and is on  
the point of being  
defeated, but is  
saved by the in-  
tervention of De-  
cimius sent by  
Fabius. He an-  
nounces a vic- 3  
tory.

[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviorē viā praeveniret, 7  
 nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. quos tenentis locum  
 contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum deiecissent,  
 8 ipsi eo transferunt castra. tum utique exiguum spatii vallum  
 a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope conpleverat Romana 5  
 acies. simul et per aversa a castris Hannibalis equitatus  
 cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem  
 9 fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. nec acie certare Hanni-  
 bal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur,  
 10 tutari poterat; iamque artibus Fabi [pars exercitus aberat 10  
 iam fame], sedendo et cunctando, bellum gerebat, receperat-  
 que suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus erant.  
 11 iusta quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam auc-  
 tores sunt: primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum,  
 inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos, 15  
 Num. Decimi Samnitis deinde *interventu* proelium restitu-  
 12 tum. hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo,  
 unde erat, sed toto Samnio iussu dictatoris octo milia pedi-  
 tum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab tergo cum  
 apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praebuisse novi 20  
 13 praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem  
 insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepissee suos, Roma-  
 num insecutum adiuvante Samnite duo castella eo die ex-  
 14 pugnassee. sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum  
 Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade *vanam* famam 25  
 egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum  
 Romam perlatam.

25 De his rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione actum

2 est. cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec

XXV. All are elated at the news except Fabius. The tri- bune Metilius famae nec litteris crederet *et*, ut vera omnia 30  
 essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere

3 diceret, tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id

[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

enim *vero* ferendum esse negat; non praesentem  
solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae  
sed absentem etiam gestae obstare et in ducen-  
do bello sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in  
magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exer-  
citu imperium habeat; quippe consulum alter-  
rum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis  
Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablega-  
tum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia  
occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore  
praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum  
equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret,  
prope in custodia habitum. itaque hercule non Samnium  
modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis con-  
cessum sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum  
pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus  
populi Romani agrum suum tutante. exercitum cupientem  
pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum  
retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. tandem,  
ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos extra  
vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostis. quas ob res, si  
antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se latu-  
rum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam  
rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum  
et dictatoris iure. nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mitten-  
dum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C.  
Flamini suffecisset. dictator contionibus se abstinuit in  
actione minime popularis. ne in senatu quidem satis aequis  
auribus audiebatur, cum hostem verbis extolleret biennique  
clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas  
referret et magistro equitum, quod contra dictum suum pug-  
nasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. si penes se summa

speaks against  
him, saying that  
he will move that  
his power be  
equalized with  
that of Minucius.  
A second consul  
should be ap-  
pointed. Fabius  
replies in the  
senate, appoints  
Regulus consul,  
and leaves Rome.  
Varro alone  
speaks for the  
motion.

[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

imperii consiliique sit, prope diem effecturum, ut sciant  
homines bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti,  
15 esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine  
ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium  
16 occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. huius generis orationibus 5  
frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne prae-  
sens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis feren-  
17 dae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. luce orta cum  
plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque  
magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant 10  
homines ad suadendum quod vulgo placebat prodire, et  
18 favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. unus  
inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno  
praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido  
19 ortus. patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, 15  
26 filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum. is

XXVI. Ante-  
cedents of Varro.  
Fabius receives  
with dignity the  
news of the equal-  
ization of his  
power with that  
of Minucius.

iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pe-  
cunia a patre relicta animos ad spem libera-  
lioris fortunae fecit, togaque et forum placuere,  
proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque 20  
adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in  
notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit,  
quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, pos-  
tremo et praetura perfunctus iam ad consulatus spem cum  
4 adtolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popu- 25  
laris ex dictatoria invidia petiit scitique plebis unus gratiam  
5 tulit. omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in  
exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem  
6 in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt; ipse, qua gravitate  
animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, 30  
7 eadem et populi in se saevientis iniuriam tulit; acceptisque  
in ipso itinere litteris senatusque consulto de aequato impe-

[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

rio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

Minucius vero, cum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset rebus 27  
 5 secundis ac favore volgi, tum utique inmodice  
 inmodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab  
 se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus  
 asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum  
 Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro  
 10 equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium,  
 iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate, in  
 qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dicta-  
 toris tremere atque horrere soliti sint; tantum suam felicitatem 4  
 virtutemque enituisse. ergo secuturum se fortunam  
 15 suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. itaque quo die primum 5  
 congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum  
 ait esse, quem ad modum imperio aequato utantur; se optimum 6  
 ducere aut diebus alternis, aut, si maiora intervalla  
 20 placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio sed viribus 7  
 etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset.  
 Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia eam fortunam 8  
 habitura, quamcumque temeritas conlegae habuisset; sibi  
 25 communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse;  
 itaque se numquam volentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio 9  
 gerendarum cessurum nec se tempora aut dies imperii  
 cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam  
 omnia non liceret, quae posset servaturum. ita obtinuit, ut 10  
 30 legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter *se* dividerent.  
 prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt.  
 item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis 11

XXVII. Minucius boasts over Fabius. He proposes that each shall command the whole army on alternate days. It is decided that they shall divide their forces.

[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]  
 auxilia diviserunt. castris quoque se separari magister  
 equitum voluit.

- 28 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit—neque enim quicquam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum  
 XXVIII. Minucius gives fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per 5  
 nucius gives battle, but is surprised by an ambush, and surrounded.  
 2 suos explorantem—; nam et liberam Minuci  
 3 temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabi dimidium virium decessisse. tumultus erat inter castra Minuci et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum factururus. eum 10  
 4 non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem procursum ad obsistendum satis sciebat,  
 5 contrahere. ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam sed ne vepri- 15  
 6 bus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum  
 7 ducenos armatos possent capere. in has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia con- 20  
 8 duntur peditum equitumque. necubi tamen aut motus aliquis temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumultum avertit oculos hostium.  
 9 primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque 25  
 10 deposcere pellendos inde hostis ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et  
 11 vanis minis increpat hostem. principio levem armaturam dimittit; deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legio- 30  
 nibus procedit. et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia increscente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitum-

[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

que iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus  
certatur. prima levis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum 12  
ex inferiore loco succedens tumultum, pulsa detrusaque ter-  
rorem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum  
5 refugit. peditum acies inter percussos inpavida sola erat 13  
videbaturque, si iusta ac [si] recta pugna esset, haudqua-  
quam inpar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante  
paucos dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum 14  
tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incur-  
santes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad  
10 fugam spes cuiquam superesset. tum Fabius  
primo clamore paventium audito, dein con-  
specta procul turbata acie 'ita est' inquit, 'non  
celerius, quam timui, deprendit fortuna teme-  
15 ritatem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem  
et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. sed  
aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra  
vallum proferte; victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem  
erroris civibus'. iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circum- 3  
spectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo  
20 demissa ad auxilium ostendit. itaque, priusquam ad con- 4  
iectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga  
effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. qui solutis  
ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad inte-  
gram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in 5  
hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem,  
nunc conglobati restare. ac iam prope una acies facta erat  
victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem,  
cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab 6  
30 se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

29

XXIX. Fa-  
bius comes to the  
rescue. Minucius  
proposes to his  
troops to go and  
thank Fabius and  
his army. 2

Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum in 7  
castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus 'saepe ego' 8



[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

inquit 'audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse  
consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum eum, qui bene monenti  
 oboediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum  
 9 extremi ingenii esse. nobis quoniam prima animi ingenii-  
 que negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus et, 5  
 dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum induca-  
 10 mus. castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa  
 cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod  
 beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos,  
 11 milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma *ac* dexteræ texerunt, 10  
 patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis  
 30 animorum gloriam dies hic dederit'. ] signo  
 dato conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa.  
 profecti et agmine incedentes *ad* dictatoris  
 castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes, qui 15  
 2 circa erant, converterunt. [ut constituta sunt  
 ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios ma-  
 gister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellas-  
 set circumfususque militum eius totum agmen  
 3 patronos consalutasset, 'parentibus' inquit 20  
 'meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum,  
 aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem tum  
 4 omnium horum. itaque plebeiscitum, quo oneratus *sum*  
 magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod  
 tibi mihiq[ue] [quod] exercitib[us]que his tuis, servato ac con- 25  
 servatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciūque tuum redeo  
 5 et signa haec legionesque restituo. tu, quaeso, placatus me  
 magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere  
 6 iubeas'. tum dextrae interiunctae militesque contione  
 dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invi- 30  
 tati, laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope  
 7 execrabili factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae,

XXX. Minu-  
 cius thanks Fa-  
 bius and resigns  
 his joint com-  
 mand, becoming  
 again master of  
 the horse. Fa-  
 bius' merit is ac-  
 knowledged both  
 at Rome and in  
 the Carthaginian  
 camp.



[XXIII.—XXX. *The war in Apulia. Fabius impugned and justified.*]

dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. pari gloria apud Hannibalem hostisque Poenos erat; ac tum demum *hi* sentire cum  
 5 Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo 9  
 et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem famam a patribus acceperant. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem 10  
 dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis  
 10 montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus 31  
 consul cum classe *centum viginti* navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque acceptis in Africam transmisit  
 15 et, priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit.  
 20 inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si *in* insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. itaque in insidias temere 4  
 inlati, cum a frequentibus palantes et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga  
 25 retro ad naves compulsi sunt. ad mille hominum cum [iis] 5  
 Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum. classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato eius 6  
 P. Cincio Romam reduceretur; ipse per Siciliam pedibus 7  
 30 profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabi accitus et

XXXI. The consul Servilius lands in Africa but meets with ill-success. He 2  
 returns to Rome with his colleague Regulus. (A digression. Fabius was correctly speaking not dictator but prodictator.) 3

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

ipse et conlega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semenstri imperio acciperent.

8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum pri-  
9 mum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. sed et Coelium 5  
et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in  
10 Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam  
moram quia expectare territa *tertia* iam clade civitas non  
poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro  
11 dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis 10  
et augmentis titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore  
*creatus esset, fuisse dictator* crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

32 Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano  
exercitu accepto hibernaculis mature commu-  
nitis *quod reliquom* autumnus erat Fabi artibus 15  
cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt.  
frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis  
2 opportuni aderant carpentes agmen palatosque  
excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis,  
3 quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant; adeo- 20  
que inopia est coactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugae specie  
abeundum *ei fuisset*, Galliam repetiturus fuerit nulla relicta  
spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules  
eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

4 Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme inpediente constitisset 25  
bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. ab iis quadra-  
ginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque  
5 ita verba facta, ut dicerent: scire sese populi *Romani* aera-  
rium bello exauriri et, cum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque  
sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, 30  
6 atque imperio geratur, aequom censuisse Neapolitanos, quod  
auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium for-

XXXII. The  
consuls carry on  
the tactics of Fa-  
bius with success.

2 The Neapolitans  
offer the Romans  
a present for war  
expenses.

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

tunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuvare populum Romanum. si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse 7 oblaturos. gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent dignosque 8 iudicaverint, ab quibus donum animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae 9 ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per 33  
 10 biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecis-  
 sisque manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et  
 viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio  
 coniurassent. indici data libertas et aeris gra-  
 vis viginti *milia*. legati et ad Philippum, Ma-  
 15 cedonum regem, missi ad deposcendum De-  
 metrium Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum  
 fugisset, et alii *in* Ligures ad expostulandum,  
 quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvisent, simul ad  
 visendum ex propinquo, quae in Bois atque Insubribus  
 20 gererentur. ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati 5  
 missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si  
 diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos. adeo, etsi bellum 6  
 ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura  
 Romanos, ne longinquae quidem, effugiebat. in religionem 7  
 25 etiam venit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem mili-  
 tarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset,  
 locatam ad id tempus non esse. itaque duumviri ad eam 8  
 rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano C. Pupius et K.  
 Quinctius Flaminius aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

30 Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad con-  
 sules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules  
 creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem, quam iussissent,

XXXIII. Va-  
 rious minor mat-  
 ters are transac-  
 ted at Rome. A  
 dictator is appoin-  
 ted to preside  
 at the elections, 3  
 but his appoint-  
 ment is cancelled.  
 An interregnum  
 follows.

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

- 10 comitia edicturum. ad haec a consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul  
 11 alter a bello avocaretur. patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. dictus 5  
 L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum  
 12 equitum dixit. iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo  
 34 se magistratu abdicare, *res* ad interregnum rediit. consuli-  
 bus prorogatum in annum imperium. inter-  
 reges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi 10  
 filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. in eius  
 interregno comitia habita magno certamine  
 patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem  
 sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione prin-  
 cipum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab 15  
 Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso  
 aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus [et] extra-  
 here ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa  
 ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent  
 3 homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. 20  
 Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures,  
 quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invi-  
 4 diam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: ab homini-  
 bus nobilibus per multos annos bellum quaerentibus Han-  
 nibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari 25  
 5 possit, fraude bellum trahi. cum quattuor legionibus uni-  
 versis pugnari *prosperè* posse apparuisset eo, quod M. Minu-  
 6 cius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti  
 ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater  
 patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset 30  
 7 Romanos quam vinci. consules deinde Fabianis artibus,  
 cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. id foedus inter

XXXIV. The consular election for 216 B.C. Candidature of Varro. Speech of his supporter the tribune Herennius. The Aristocracy is prolonging the war. If the people want it finished they must elect a novus homo.

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

omnes nobilis ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros, quam  
 consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent;  
 nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et 8  
 contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint,  
 5 coepisse. cui non [id] apparere, id actum et quaesitum 9  
 esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia  
 essent? id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; 10  
 id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum  
 causa, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures  
 10 fieret. habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum 11  
 certe plebis Romanae esse, et populum liberum habiturum  
 ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis 35  
 petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio  
 15 Volgone, M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium  
 iam familiarum plebeiis, C. Atilio Serrano et  
 Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex alter  
 augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur,  
 ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando con-  
 20 legae. tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse 3  
 virium in competitoribus eius L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum  
 M. Livio consul fuerat, ex damnatione conlegae, ex qua  
 prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebi, diu ac multum  
 recusantem ad petitionem conpellit. is proximo comitali 4  
 25 die concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant,  
 par magis in adversandum quam conlega datur consuli.  
 inde praetorum comitia habita: creati M. Pomponius 5  
 Matho et P. Furius *Philus*. Philo Romae iuri dicundo  
 urbana sors, Pomponio inter civis Romanos et peregrinos  
 30 evenit. additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in 6  
 Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. omnes absentes 7  
 creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum praeter Terentium consulem

XXXV. Of 2  
 several candi-  
 dates only Varro  
 is elected consul.  
 Aemilius Paulus  
 is induced to  
 stand. The Prae-  
 tors are elected.

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

mandatus honos, quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

- 36 Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem  
 XXXVI. The copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo 5  
 forces are in- et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores,  
 creased. Omens are announced, ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus  
 2 and measures taken accordingly. sim. decem milia novorum militum alii  
 scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor  
 3 legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quo- 10  
 que peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus peditum  
 et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia  
 peditum treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum  
 4 equitum darent, peditis aequarent [septem et octoginta  
 milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, cum pugna- 15  
 5 tum ad Cannas est], quidam auctores sunt. illud haudqua-  
 quam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam  
 quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator  
 6 praeberat. ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legio-  
 nes moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi 20  
 7 propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis; nam et  
 Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem  
 tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis,  
 8 Caere aquas *in* fonte calido manasse; id quidem etiam, quod  
 saepius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae 25  
 ad campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanimati-  
 9 que fuerant. ea prodigia ex libris procurata. legati a  
 Paesto pateras aureas Romam adtulerunt. iis sicut Neapol-  
 litanis gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

- 37 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno 30  
 2 commeatu accessit. legati in senatum intro-  
 XXXVII. Hiero offers the ducti nuntiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

exercitusque adlatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvare soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant, magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese; acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. advexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis; itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. ab senatu ita responsum regis *legatis* est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. id perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum gratia rei accepta non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriam omenque accipere sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. in ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano.

Romans presents, supplies, and light troops. He advises them to send a praetor into Africa.



[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

13 funditores sagittarii<sup>que</sup> et frumentum traditum consulibus.  
 quinquere<sup>mes</sup> ad \* \* navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio  
 propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, per-  
 missum<sup>que</sup> est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam  
 traiceret.

5

38 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab  
 2 sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. tum,  
 XXXVIII. quod numquam antea factum erat, iure iurando  
 For the first time an oath of allegi-  
 3 ance is adminis- ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad  
 tered to the army eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, 10  
 by the tribunes. iussu consulis conventuros neque iniussu abi-  
 Speeches of Var- tuturos, et ubi ad decuratum aut centuriatum  
 ro and Aemilius convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decu-  
 Paulus. riati equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque  
 4 formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi 15  
 teli sumendi aut repetendi [et] aut hostis feriendi aut civis  
 5 servandi causa. id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad  
 tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.  
 6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, con-  
 sulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere denuntiantis bellum 20  
 arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visceri-  
 7 bus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se,  
 8 quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. conlegae eius Pauli  
 una, pridie quam urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior  
 quam gravior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem 25  
 9 dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, [quodne] qui dux, priusquam  
 aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam  
 regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quae sibi  
 10 agenda armato forent, et diem quoque praedicere posset,  
 11 qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus. se, quae 30  
 consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea  
 ante tempus immatura non praecepturum. optare, ut, quae



[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam 12 ad id locorum fuisse. et sua sponte apparebat, tuta cele- 13 ribus consiliis praepositurum; et, quo id constantius per- 5 severaret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur:

‘Si aut conlegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. 39 Aemili, haberes, aut tu conlegae tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo  
10 boni consules etiam me indicente omnia e re publica fideque vestra faceretis, et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. nunc et conlegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est,  
15 quem video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum  
20 censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te, *cum tu* cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus 5 locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et adversus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus. ominis 6  
25 etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque 7  
30 acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? atqui si *hic*, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugna- 8

XXXIX. Address of Fabius to Aemilius Paulus. He will find Varro a worse foe than Hannibal. If Varro fights he will meet with 3 disaster. The only policy is to wait. Paulus' position will be difficult but he must hold his own.

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

verit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc  
 ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus  
 9 erit. nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego con-  
 temnendo potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum exces-  
 serim. *[sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus* 5  
 10 *Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. nec eventus modo hoc*  
*docet—stultorum iste magister est—sed eadem ratio, quae*  
*fuit futuraque, donec res eaedem manebunt, inmutabilis est.*  
 11 *in Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa*  
*plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis, viris, equis, commeati-* 10  
 12 *bus iuvant iuvabuntque; id iam fidei documentum in adversis*  
*rebus nostris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores*  
 13 *nos tempus diesque facit; Hannibal contra in aliena, in*  
*hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab*  
*domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae* 15  
*eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui videt;*  
 14 *in diem raptō vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet,*  
*quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro ab-*  
 15 *sumpti, nec his paucis iam victus suppeditat. dubitas ergo,*  
*quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies,* 20  
*non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat?*  
 16 *quam diu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam*  
*pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet! sed ne adversus te quidem*  
 17 *de me gloriabor; Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules,*  
*vide quem ad modum eum ludificati sint. haec una salutis* 25  
*est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi*  
 18 *magis quam hostes facient; idem enim tui, quod hostium*  
*militēs volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Hannibal*  
*Poenus imperator cupiet. duobus ducibus unus resistas*  
*oportet. resistes autem, si adversus famam rumoresque* 30  
 19 *gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. veritatem laborare*

[XXXI.—XL. 4. *Rome during the winter 217—6.*]

nimis saepe aiunt, extingui numquam; gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro con- 20 siderato, inbellem pro perito belli vocent. malo, te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. omnia audentem  
 5 contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet.] nec 21 ego, ut nihil agatur, *suadeo*, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasione tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. omnia non properanti clara 22  
 10 certaue erunt; festinatio inprovida est et caeca'.

Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit magis 40 fatentis ea, quae diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. dictatori magistrum equitum interabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus conle-  
 15 gam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; 3 sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum. ab hoc ser- 4  
 20 mone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent.

XL. Paulus replies, and the 2 two consuls start from Rome.

[XL. 5—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, 5 castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent  
 25 propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium aetatem excusantem Romanam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium pe-  
 30 ditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Hannibal, 7

At Gerconium the two consuls occupy one camp; Servilius another smaller one near Hannibal.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat,  
 8 tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. non solum enim  
 nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde  
 raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat omni undique fru-  
 9 mento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas  
 convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod conpertum postea est,  
 frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio  
 parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum expectata foret.

- 41 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac *prae*proprio ingenio ma-  
 teriam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohiben- 10  
 dis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac pro-  
 cursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut  
 iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par  
 Poenis dimicatio fuit. ad mille et septingenti  
 caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorum- 15  
 que occisis. ceterum victoribus effuse sequen-  
 3 tibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die—  
 nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat, Varrone indig-  
 nante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus, debellari-  
 4 que, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum 20  
 haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere velut inesca-  
 tam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime  
 5 militum esse. et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua  
 nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope  
 6 partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. itaque locum et 25  
 tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus nocte proxima nihil  
 praeter arma ferenti secum milite castra plena omnis for-  
 7 tunae publicae privataeque relinquit, transque proximos  
 montis laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, inpe-  
 8 dimenta per convallem mediam traducit, ut diripiendis 30  
 velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum inpedi  
 9 tumque hostem opprimeret. crebri relictis in castris ignes,

XLI. The  
 Romans are vic-  
 torious in a skir-  
 mish, but Paulus  
 stops the pursuit,  
 Hannibal leaves  
 2 his camp with  
 fires burning and  
 retires.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse. ubi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. tum satis conperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostis ac protinus castra diripienda. et consul alter velut unus turbae militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castrorum, quae vergat in hostem, relictos, tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta; argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam vidisse. quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiarum iam efferenti porta signa conlegae iussit. quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. di prope ipsi

XLII. The soldiers and Varro are clamorous that it should be plundered. Statilius sent to reconnoitre notices some suspicious circumstances. Varro is only kept back by evil omens, and the information of two fugitives from the Carthaginian camp.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita evenit, ut, cum referri signa in castra  
 11 iubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent 5 eo die ad dominos. deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere  
 12 in insidiis. horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset. 10

43 Hannibal, postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra rediit. ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud 15 milites solum mixtos ex conluviione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum obantur. nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites, 20 maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium  
 4 fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse ita, ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora 25 atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul *ut*, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia inpeditoria levibus  
 6 ingeniis essent. profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par  
 7 priori metus contineret Romanos. sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montis exploratis cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum

XLIII. Hannibal returns to his camp, but is soon compelled by hunger to move again. He encamps near Cannae.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta.<sup>D</sup> cum utriusque 8  
 consulis eadem, quae ante semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum  
 Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo praeter Servilium, prioris  
 anni consulem, adsentiretur, *ex* maioris partis sententia ad 9  
 5 nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti  
 sunt. prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a 10  
 Volturmo vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris  
 vehit. id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare 11  
 praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem derigerent, ipsi aversi,  
 10 terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso  
 hostem pugnaturi.

Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, 44  
 ut ventum ad Cannas est, et in conspectu Poe-  
 num habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem  
 15 ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante  
 copiis divisis. Aufidius amnis utrisque castris  
 adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque  
 opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex  
 minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Au-  
 20 fidium erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia  
 ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hanni- 4  
 bal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua  
 parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi con-  
 sules, derigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione  
 25 hostis. inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia 5  
 consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Fla-  
 mini temeritatem Varroni, Varro *Paulo* speciosum timidis  
 ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testare- 6  
 turque deos hominesque hic: nullam penes se culpam  
 30 esse, quod Hannibal iam *velut* usu cepisset Italiam; se  
 constrictum a conlega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et  
 pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille: si quid proiectis 7

XLIV. The  
 consuls follow.  
 Again they make  
 two camps, a  
 larger on the same 2  
 bank of the Aufi-  
 dus as Hannibal,  
 a smaller on the  
 further bank. H. 3  
 tries to provoke  
 battle.



[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

ac proditis ad *inconsultam* atque *inprovidam* pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna vigerent manus.

- 45 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, 5  
 Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in 10  
 ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, *in* stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. id vero *adco* indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen 15  
 derigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. itaque postero die Varro, cuius sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto conlega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvere 20  
 6 consilium poterat. transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu—id erat flumini propius—  
 7 Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevom cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti 25  
 legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris  
 8 levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. consules cornua tenere, Terentius laevom, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

- 46 Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia armatura 30  
 praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanos

XLV. H. sends some cavalry across, and routs a watering party from the smaller camp. Next day  
 2  
 3 Varro, followed by Paulus, crosses the river and draws up the army for battle.  
 4

XLVI. Hannibal also crosses.  
 2



[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

- que equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum, dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispaes ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, brevitae habiles et cum mucronibus. ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purapura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. numerus omnium peditum, qui tum stetero in acie, milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. duces cornibus praecrant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetero, peropportuno utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem Poenis in septentrionem versis; ventus—Vulturum regionis incolae vocant—adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.
- Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevom cornu cum dextro Romano concurrat, minime equestris more pugnae; frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudabant. in directum utrimque nitentes stantibus

Arrangement of the Carthaginian forces. The Roman cavalry on the right is defeated by the Gallo-Spanish cavalry.

XLVII. The Roman infantry drive back the middle part of Hannibal's centre, but the Carthaginians at the extremities of the line close in and surround them.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus  
 detrahebat equo. pedestre magna iam ex parte cer-  
 tamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum  
 4 est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. sub equestris  
 finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus 5  
 et animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque;  
 5 tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, *obliqua* fronte acieque  
 densa inpulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum  
 6 validum, a cetera prominentem acie. impulsis deinde ac  
 trepide referentibus pedem institere ac tenore uno per prae- 10  
 ceptis pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem  
 inlati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum perve-  
 7 nerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant media, qua  
 Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie.  
 8 qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein ceden- 15  
 do etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fece-  
 rant inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumde-  
 dere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo  
 9 hostis. hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam proelio uno,  
 omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, [et] 20  
 10 adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt non tantum eo  
 iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod

XLVIII. The fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.  
 48 Roman allied iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum  
 horse on the left engage with the Numidians. De-  
 spite a stratagem of the Numidians the fight is equal. 25  
 2 Hasdrubal ac- proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coep-  
 cordingly inter- tum fraude. quingenti ferme Numidae, prae-  
 changes the posi- ter *solita* arma telaque gladios occultos sub  
 tion of some of the Numidian loriceis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab  
 3 and Gallo-Span- suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, 30  
 ish horse. repente ex equis desiliunt parmisque et iaculis  
 ante pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo iubentur.  
 ac dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti man-  
 serunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat 4  
 certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos  
 5 caesorum corporum strata erant, *aversam* adoriuntur Ro-  
 manam aciem tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes  
 stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumult-  
 um fecerunt. cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in 5  
 mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte prae-  
 10 erat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum  
 cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientis  
 mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis 6  
 caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim 49  
 15 proelio funda graviter ietus fuerat, tamen et  
 occurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et ali-  
 quot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus  
 cum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo  
 equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equom  
 20 vires deficiebant. tum denuntianti cuidam,  
 iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites,  
 dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: 'quam mallem,  
 vinctos mihi traderet!' equitum pedestre proe-  
 lium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria,  
 25 fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam  
 fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos  
 pellere non poterant. pepulerunt tamen iam paucos supe- 5  
 rantis et labore ac vulneribus fessos. inde dissipati omnes  
 sunt equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Len- 6  
 30 tulus tribunus militum cum praetervehens equo sedentem  
 in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, 'L. Aemili' 7  
 inquit, 'quem unum insontem culpa cladis hodiernae dei

XLIX. In the  
 centre again  
 Paulus and his  
 bodyguard hold  
 out on foot. At  
 length they are  
 broken. Paulus  
 refuses to fly and 3  
 is borne down in  
 the rout. Some  
 escape to the  
 large, some to the  
 small camp, Var- 4  
 ro and 50 horse-  
 men to Venusia.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium  
 aliquid superest, *et* comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere.  
 8 ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam *sine*  
 9 hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est'. ad ea consul: 'tu  
 quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra 5  
 miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi  
 10 absumas. abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam  
 muniant ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis fir-  
 ment; privatim Q. Fabio Aemilium praeceptorum eius me-  
 11 morem et vixisse adhuc et mori. memet in hac strage 10  
 militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e con-  
 sulatu sim aut accusator conlegae existam, ut alieno crimine  
 12 innocentiam meam protegam'. haec eos agentis prius turba  
 fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem igno-  
 rantes, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum *inter* tumultum 15  
 13 abripuit equus. tum *undique* effuse fugiunt. septem milia  
 hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in  
 vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt; qui extemplo a Carthalone  
 atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente vicum circumventi  
 14 sunt. consul alter seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium 20  
 insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam  
 15 perfugit. quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo  
 milia septingenti equites, *et tantadem* prope civium sociorum-  
 16 que pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L.  
 Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni mili- 25  
 tum, consulares quidam praetoriiue et aedilicii—inter eos  
 Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui  
 magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante *consul*  
 17 fuerat—, octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos ma-  
 gistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua 30  
 18 voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. capta eo proelio  
 tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

Haec est pugna *Cannensis*, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, 50  
 ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere,  
 levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage  
 exercitus gravior foediorque. fuga namque ad  
 5 Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum ser-  
 vavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quin-  
 quaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope  
 totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis  
 10 sine ducibus esset, nuntium qui in maioribus  
 erant mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia  
 epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se  
 transirent; uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. eam sen-  
 tentiam alii totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, 5  
 15 ipsos non venire, cum aequae coniungi possent? quia vide-  
 licet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam  
 sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. aliis non tam 6  
 sententia displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius  
 Tuditanus tribunus militum 'capi ergo mavultis' inquit 'ab  
 20 avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra  
 et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an  
 Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos  
 quaeratur? non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se 7  
 bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum  
 25 virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. sed S  
 antequam opprimit lux, maioraque hostium agmina obsae-  
 piunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque inconpositi obstre-  
 punt portis, erumpamus. ferro atque audacia *via* fit quam- 9  
 vis per confertos hostis. cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque  
 30 solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstat, disicias. itaque ite me-  
 cum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis'.  
 haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per 10

L. The troops  
 in the large camp  
 urge those in the  
 smaller to join  
 them. The latter  
 refuse. But en-  
 couraged by a  
 military tribune  
 600 cut their way  
 out to the troops  
 in the larger  
 camp, and march  
 with them to Ca-  
 nusium.

[XL. 5.—L. *The battle of Cannae.*]

11 medios vadit hostis; et cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat,  
 Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora  
 castra ad sescentos evaserunt atque inde protinus alio magno  
 12 agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes perveniunt. haec  
 apud victos magis impetu animorum, quos ingenium suum 5  
 cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio  
 cuiusquam agebantur.

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

51 Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur  
 suaderentque, ut tanto perfunctus bello diei  
 quod relicum esset noctisque insequentis quie- 10  
 tem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militi-  
 bus, Maharbal praefectus equitum, minime  
 cessandum ratus, 'immo ut, quid hac pugna sit  
 actum, scias, die quinto' inquit 'victor in Capitolio epula-  
 beris. sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum 15  
 3 sciant, praecedam'. Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa  
 maiorque, quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. itaque  
 voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensan-  
 4 dum temporis opus esse. tum Maharbal: 'non omnia nimi-  
 rum eidem di dedere; vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti 20  
 nescis'. mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque  
 imperio.

5 Postero die, ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foe-  
 6 damque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. iace-  
 bant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut 25  
 quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga. adsurgentes  
 quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore  
 7 excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et  
 iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt,  
 nudantis cervicem iugulumque et relicum sanguinem iuben- 30

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

tes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram 8  
 capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque  
 ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat.  
 praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo super- 9  
 5 incubanti Romano vivus naso auribusque laceratis, cum *ille*,  
 manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa  
 laniando dentibus hostem expirasset.

Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora ducit 52  
 castra oppugnanda et omnium primum brachio  
 10 obiecto flumine eos excludit, ceterum ab om-  
 nibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis  
 maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. pacti,  
 ut arma atque equos traderent in capita Ro-  
 mana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios  
 15 ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio  
 persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis  
 acceperunt traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum  
 cives sociique. dum ibi tempus teritur, interea, cum ex 4  
 maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quat-  
 20 tuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii  
 palati, passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Ca-  
 nusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem  
 condicione, qua altera, tradita hosti. praeda ingens parta 5  
 est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti—quod plu-  
 25 rimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto  
 perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur—omnis cetera praeda  
 diripienda data est. tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum 6  
 corpora suorum iussit. ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortis-  
 simorum virorum. consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum  
 30 sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

LII. First the  
 smaller and then  
 the larger camp  
 surrenders. Busa,  
 an Apulian wo-  
 man, assists the  
 fugitives at Ca-  
 nusium.

Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine 7  
 Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a



[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

- Canusinis acceptos frumento, veste, viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores
- 53 habiti sunt. ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum
- 2 LIII. At Canusium Publius quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione
- Scipio and Ap- prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator fuerat, 5
- pius Claudius et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et
- command. Some et de legione tertia Ap.
- noble youths talk P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia Ap.
- of leaving Italy. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat,
- Scipio, sword in omni-um consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum
- hand, compels *adulescentem et ad* Ap. Claudium summa imperii 10
- 3 them to swear fidelity to the Republic.
- 4 delata est. quibus consultantibus inter paucos
- de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius,
- nequiquam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam conplo-
- 5 ratamque rem esse publicam; nobiles iuvenes quosdam,
- quorum principem M. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves 15
- spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant.
- 6 quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam
- novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui
- aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat
- consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. 20
- 7 audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto
- malo esse; irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam
- 8 salvam vellent; nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur,
- 9 hostium castra esse. pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hosi-
- tium Metelli et, cum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus ad- 25
- latum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium
- 10 gladio 'ex mei animi sententia' inquit, 'ut ego rem publicam
- populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum
- 11 deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me Iuppiter optimus maxi-
- 12 mus domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficiat. in 30
- haec verba, M. Caecili, iures postulo ceterique, qui adestis;
- qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat'.



[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, 13  
iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii agebantur, Venusiam 54  
ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti  
5 pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros  
fuerant, pervenere. eos omnes Venusini per  
familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum  
divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas  
et quadrigatos nummos quinos videnos et pe-  
10 diti denos et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt,  
ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque, 3  
ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur.  
sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam ad decem 4  
milia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio, postquam inco- 5  
15 lumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extem-  
plo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae  
essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exerci-  
tum an manere iuberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium 6  
copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus  
20 erat, moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste vide-  
bantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium socio- 7  
rumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus *consulibus*  
exercitum deletasque omnes copias adlatum fuerat. num- 8  
25 quam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia  
Romana fuit. itaque, *ne* succumbam oneri, neque adgrediar  
narrare, quae edissertando minora vero faciam. consule 9  
exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso non  
vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus  
30 consulibus *duo* consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec  
ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Han- 10  
nibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam

LIV. At Ve-  
nusia the fugi-  
tives are gene-  
rously treated. 2  
Varro joins Sci-  
pio at Canusium.  
At Rome the dis-  
may is indescri-  
bable.

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

- factam. nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non  
 11 obruta esset. conpares aut cladem ad Aegatis insulas Car-  
 thaginiensium proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac  
 Sardinia cessere et vectigalis ac stipendiarios fieri se passi  
 sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse 5  
 Hannibal succubuit: nulla ex parte conparandae sunt, nisi  
 55 quod minore animo latae sunt. P. Furius  
 Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum  
 in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis  
 custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant 10  
 deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam  
 Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, ven-  
 turum. cum in malis sicuti ingentibus ita  
 3 ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent,  
 obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et nondum 15  
 palam facto vivi mortuique [et] per omnes paene domos  
 4 promiscue conplorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit  
 equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui  
 obvios percunctando—aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissi-  
 patos fore—referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum 20  
 5 sit, et, si quid di immortales, miseriti imperii, relicum Ro-  
 mani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal  
 post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque  
 6 sit. haec exploranda noscendaque per inpigros iuvenes  
 esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum 25  
 parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant,  
 matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque  
 7 limen cogant, conploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium  
 per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores  
 deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem 30  
 8 expectet, custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui pro-  
 hibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. ubi conticuerit [recte] tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, submo- 56  
 5 taque foro *per* magistratus turba patres diversi  
 ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum de-  
 mum litterae a C. Terentio consule adlatae  
 sunt: L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque  
 caesum; sese Canusii esse reliquias tantae  
 10 cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad  
 decem milia militum ferme esse inconposito-  
 rum inordinatorumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas in capti- 3  
 vorum pretiis praedaeque alia nec victoris animo nec magni  
 ducis more nundinantem. tum privatae quoque per domos 4  
 15 clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus,  
 ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec  
 lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate  
 matrona expers luctus fuerat. itaque ne ob eandem causam 5  
 alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus  
 20 consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. ceterum cum 6  
 sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae  
 insuper ex Sicilia litterae adlatae sunt ab T. Otacilio pro-  
 praetore: regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui cum 7  
 opem inploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse aliam  
 25 classem ad Aegatis insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, 8  
 ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensis-  
 sent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam  
 adgrederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium  
 Siciliamque tueri vellent.

30 Litteris consulis praetorisque *lectis censuerunt praetorem* 57  
 M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti  
 praesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum

LVI. A despatch arrives from Varro with news of the battle, and another 2 from the praetor in Spain, asking for reinforcements.

LVII. M. Claudius Mar-

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

cellus is sent to take over the army. On account of prodigies and outrages the  
 2 Sibylline books are consulted, and two men and two women buried alive. Disposition of troops. Four legions are raised from youths over  
 3 17, and 8000 slaves are enrolled.

scribendumque consuli, ut, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod  
 5 duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri conperta, et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat; L. Cantilius, scribe pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices adpellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio  
 4 caesus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. hoc nefas cum inter  
 5 tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad  
 15 oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare, et quatenam futura finis tantis  
 6 cladibus foret. interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum  
 20 saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano  
 7 sacro, inbutum. placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent,  
 8 mittit; ipse, legione classica—ea legio tertia erat—cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita  
 25 P. Furio Philo conlegae paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam  
 30 praetextatos scribunt. quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. arma, tela, alia  
 parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis  
 porticibusque. et formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum 11  
 capitum ac necessitas dedit; octo milia iuvenum validorum  
 5 ex servitiis prius sciscitantes singulos, vellente militare,  
 empti publice armaverunt. hic miles magis placuit, cum 12  
 pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret. namque 58  
 Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas  
 pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis  
 10 intentus curis, cum captivis productis segrega-  
 tisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasum-  
 numque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine  
 pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos,  
 quod numquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur:  
 15 non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de digni-  
 tate atque imperio certare. et patres virtuti Romanae 3  
 cessisse, et se id adniti, ut suae in vicem simul felicitati et  
 virtuti cedatur. itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; 4  
 pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos,  
 20 trecenos pediti, servo centenos. quamquam aliquantum 5  
 adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant deden-  
 tes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi  
 acceperunt. placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui 6  
 Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut  
 25 iurarent se redituros, acceptum. missus cum his Carthalo, 7  
 nobilis Carthaginensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret  
 animus, condiciones ferret. cum egressi castris essent, unus 8  
 ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus,  
 iuris iurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante  
 30 noctem comites adsequitur. ubi Romam venire eos nuntia- 9  
 tum est, Carthalonem obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris  
 verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

LVIII. Han-  
 nibal offers to  
 accept a ransom  
 for the prisoners. 2  
 Ten of them are  
 sent to lay the  
 matter before the  
 Senate.

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

- 59 LIX. Speech of their leader. They deserved to be ransomed if any one ever did. It will be profitable for Rome to retain their services. The Senate should pity them because of the fate they will undergo if not ransomed.
- legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. quorum princeps ‘M. Iuni vosque, patres conscripti’ inquit, ‘nemo nostrum ignorat nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus neglegendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed, cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei relicum ac noctem insequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla iam per confertos hostis erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium, quo redempti dmitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. atqui et *ad* Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannensis campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem fuere, sed praesidio castris relictis, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. haud equidem ullius civis et com-militonis fortunae aut conditioni invideo nec premendo alium me extulisse velim—; ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi con-  
 stiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se  
 plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. sed et illis 11  
 bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promp-  
 5 tioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in  
 patriam restituti fuerimus. dilectum ex omni aetate et 12  
 fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari. non  
 minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possu-  
 mus, quam ii emuntur—; nam si conferam nos cum illis,  
 10 iniuriam nomini Romano faciam. illud etiam in tali con- 13  
 silio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti,  
 si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis,  
 cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho videlicet, qui [vos] hospi- 14  
 tum numero captivos habuit, an barbaro ac Poeno, qui  
 15 utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest. si 15  
 videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum,  
 non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex  
 altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones  
 vestras. intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vesti- 16  
 20 bulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantium-  
 que responsum vestrum. cum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui  
 absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum  
 ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est?  
 sed si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra 17  
 25 naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse  
 censeamus, cum indigni ut redimeremur [a] vobis visi simus.  
 rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti, 18  
 sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos  
 sese missis; redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non  
 30 aestimatus civis? suum quisque *habet* animum, patres con- 19  
 scripti. scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum;  
 magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac



[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent'.

- 60 Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fra- 5  
 2 They might have sallied from the camp and found safety. They should have done  
 3 so even to meet destruction. They tried to prevent Sempronius from leaving the camp.  
 4 Having remained they did not even try to defend it.  
 5 censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis 15  
 6 tentiam ita locutus fertur: 'si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem;  
 7 quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum 20  
 a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dederint praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aecum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, 25  
 8 patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in 30  
 9 sed cum, fessis pugnando hostibus tum victoria laetis et



[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem *milia* armatorum hominum erumpere etiam *per* confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt. nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. si ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumultum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostis, dixit “moriatur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones”, si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros æquidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantæ virtutis extitisset comes. viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. ut servemini, deest vobis animus; quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis. sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginensium facti. pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium, civem vestrum, non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. *quamquam* quid ego ignaviam istorum accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi in-  
 18 tes submovissent. prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium  
 agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. hos cives  
 patria desideret? quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem  
 19 hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet. ex 5  
 milibus septem armatorum sescenti extiterunt, qui erumpere  
 auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque  
 20 his sescentis hostes obstitere; quam tutum iter duarum prope  
 legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? haberetis hodie  
 viginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia fidelia, patres con- 10  
 scripti. nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque—  
 nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint—cives esse possunt?  
 21 nisi quis credere potest aut favisse erumpentibus, qui, ne  
 erumperent, obsistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos cum  
 incolumitati tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, cum 15  
 sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae causam  
 22 esse sciant. maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem  
 atque hostem expectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi  
 occasio esset. *at* ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus,  
 23 ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque 20  
 aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tan-  
 dem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae dees-  
 sent adfectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent,  
 24 necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. orto  
 sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam 25  
 fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos.  
 25 haec vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. cum *in* acie  
 stare ac pugnare decuerat, [cum] in castra refugerunt; cum  
 pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt neque in acie  
 26 neque in castris utiles. et vos redimamus? cum erumpere 30  
*e* castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere, cas-  
 tra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

traditis hosti. ego non magis istos redimendos, patres con- 27  
scripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per  
medios hostis e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem  
se patriae restituerunt'.

5 Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque 61  
plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, prae-  
ter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam  
inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque  
summa homines movit, quia nec aerarium ex-  
10 hauriri, magna iam summa erogata in servos  
ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Han-  
nibalem maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat,  
egentem locupletari volebant. cum triste re-  
sponsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset  
15 novusque super veterem luctus tot iactura  
civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus  
questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. unus ex iis 4  
domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se  
exsolvisset. quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est,  
20 omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice  
datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama : decem primo venisse ; de 5  
eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem  
necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur ; mo- 6  
25 rantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tris insuper lega-  
tos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Man-  
lium ; tum demum ab cognato Scriboni tribuno plebis de 7  
redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos  
senatum ; et novos legatos tris ad Hannibalem revertisse,  
30 decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi 3  
nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi reli-  
gione sese exsolvisset ; de iis dedendis magna contentione

LXI. The Senate refuses to ransom the prisoners. The envoys return except one who is arrested and sent to Hannibal. Another version. Some allies desert. The Romans do not despair. They even return thanks to Varro.

[LI.—LXI. *After the battle.*]

actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui deden-  
 9 dos censuerint ; ceterum proxumis censoribus adeo omnibus  
 notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mor-  
 tem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum  
 10 omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. mi- 5  
 rari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri  
 sit, discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus  
 fuerit, vel ea res indicio *est, quod fides sociorum*, quae ad eam  
 diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de 10  
 11 re, quam quod desperaverant de imperio. defecere autem ad  
 Poenos hi populi : Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum  
 12 pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani,  
 praeter hos Uzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Taren-  
 tini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes 15  
 13 Galli. nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum mo-  
 verunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque  
 ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit  
 14 renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis ; quo in tempore  
 ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta 20  
 clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam  
 itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae,  
 15 quod de re publica non desperasset ; qui *si* Carthaginensium  
 ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

## NOTES.

As in a few cases reference has been made to variations of reading, it may be stated that the following abbreviations are used to denote the three principal mss. containing the 22nd book of Livy.

P=Puteanus, so called after its possessor, in the Paris library. It is the oldest ms. for it is assigned to the 8th (by Müller to the 6th) century, and the best, though containing many errors. The other two are descended from it.

C=Colbertinus, also in the Paris library, end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century.

M=Mediceus, in the library at Florence, 11th century.

### CHAPTER I.

p. 1. 1 § 1. *itaque*] P *adpetebatque*, for which Weissenborn read *adpetebat atque*. *itaque* is better suited to the context, which is explained in the note on *et...et*.

*hibernis*] near Placentia XXI. 59. 1, whither he had probably returned from Liguria ib. § 10, if indeed he went to Liguria at all. See on *ante conatus* in this section.

*movit*] sc. *castra*. In the case of verbs which are constantly used with the same object, the object is not unfrequently omitted. There are several such verbs among those describing military operations. Cf. *ducit* 11. 2.

2 *et...et...metu*] The two participles explain why Hannibal was anxious to start as soon as the season allowed. His original intention had been to do so earlier, but he had been thwarted in it: his enforced delay had been attended with danger.

*ante conatus transcendere Appenninum*] The attempt here referred to is described in XXI. 58. We may doubt whether it was actually made. Polybius does not mention it, and there can hardly have been time for it and the subsequent movements described in Livy XXI. 59 between the date indicated by *prima ac dubia signa veris* ib. 58. 2 and

the 'approach of spring' (*iam ver adpetebat*). More probably Hannibal passed the winter in inactivity near Placentia.

3 *intolerandis frigoribus*] abl. absol. explaining *nequiquam*.

4 § 2. *Galli*] The sentence which follows explains *periculo et metu*.

6 *pro eo, ut...raperent*] 'instead of themselves plundering'. This would have been expressed more shortly in Greek by ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοὶ φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν.

*raperent agerentque*] The second word refers more particularly to cattle, the first to other kinds of booty. The usual phrase is *ferre agere*.

8 *utriusque partis*] The remains of the Roman armies were in Placentia and Cremona.

9 § 3. *verterunt retro*] 'transferred'. *retro* does not imply that they had hated Hannibal before and now renewed their hate.

10 *petitusque*] *Hannibal* is the subject, as in the opening sentence.

*que*] = 'and so'.

*inter se*] 'to each other'.

*fraude*] This is further explained by the words *eadem...indicantium*.

12 *tegumenta capitis*] This refers to false hair, as appears from Polybius

III. 78 E κατεσκενάσατο περιθετὰς τρίχας. He adds ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας μετελάμβανε τὰς καθηκούσας αἰεὶ ταῖς περιθεταῖς. 'In like fashion he wore the clothes which matched the wig he had on at the time'; words more precise than those of Livy. Polybius calls this a 'Punic wile', ἐχρήσατο Φοινικικῷ στρατηγῆματι.

13 *errore*] 'by the confusion thus caused'.

*etiam*] with *errore*, 'in this way', as well as by the protection afforded him by the mutual treachery of the conspirators.

§ 4. *ceterum*] according to its etymology = 'moreover' (cf. Fr. *du reste*). Livy and later writers use it in an adversative sense—'however'.

14 *movendi*] see on § 1 *movit*.

15 *per idem tempus*] 'about the same time', referring to § 1 *iam ver adpetebat*.

*Romae*] As contrasted with his colleague Flaminius, who had ordered the legions which had wintered at Placentia to proceed to Ariminum, XXI. 63. 1, 2, and 13, and now entered on his office there.

*idibus Martiis*] The date is not consistent with the words which precede it, for at this time the Roman Calendar was about two months in advance of the natural year, and the Ides of March would have fallen in the middle of January. Livy writes as if the Calendar were correct.

Such is Livy's account; but it is doubtful whether it is true. Soon after this (c. 2. 1) we find Flaminius at Arretium in Etruria, while

Servilius was posted at Ariminum (Pol. III. 86. 1). This being so, it was hardly likely that Flaminius went first to Ariminum, took over the army of the Po there, and proceeded with it across the Appennines to Arretium.

It is more probable that Flaminius proceeded from Rome to Arretium with the new levies, while Servilius went to Ariminum and there received the army which had fought at Trebia in 218 B.C. Zonaras says this was what Servilius did (VIII. 412 C). Polybius III. 75 says the two consuls raised troops for 217 B.C. together, and made arrangements for markets being held 'partly at Ariminum, partly in Etruria, as they intended to march out to these places'. If the consuls raised levies together Flaminius could not have entered office at Arretium. Polybius does not mention his doing so, and he probably means—what from other circumstances seems most likely—that Flaminius proceeded straight from Rome to Arretium, as Servilius did to Ariminum.

Flaminius seems to have been treated unfairly by the historians of the war, who were mostly men of the senatorial party. The story that he entered office at Ariminum may have been invented after his defeat to enhance the seeming justice of the retribution which overtook the popular general.

16 § 5. *de re publica rettulisset*] 'moved to discuss the situation', 12. 1.

17 *redintegrata*] The previous occasion referred to was when Flaminius was consul elect, XXI. 63. He had still earlier than this incurred the hostility of the aristocracy as tribune in 232 B.C. and as consul in 223 B.C., XXI. 63. 2.

18 *ercasse*] depending on some word of feeling or saying suggested by *invidia*.

*iustum*] 'legal', because he had left the city without the *lex curiata de imperio* having been passed.

p. 2. 1 *auspicium*] 'religious sanction for his election'. The auspices were usually taken by the consul on his formal departure from his province. Flaminius had left Rome *inauspicato*.

§ 6. *id*] 'this', i.e. legal authority, sanctioned by religion, the idea expressed by *iustum imperium...auspicium*.

*publicis privatisque penatibus*] 'the hearth of the family and the state'. The whole Roman people had its *penates* as well as each family. They had it seems a temple on the Velia. Here however the temples of the gods of Rome on the Capitol are referred to.

The words which follow indicate the ceremonies observed by a consul on assuming the consulship and during the opening days of his tenure of office. They are enumerated more exactly in XXI. 63. 7—9.



The consul having assumed the *praetexta* (or robe of state) in his house proceeded to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol (cf. *publicis privatisque penatibus*) where he offered the sacrifices vowed by his predecessor, and undertook that similar sacrifices should be offered next year. This was called *votorum nuncupatio* (recital of vows). He then held a meeting on the Capitol where matters of ceremonial were discussed, and in particular the day for the Latin festival fixed.

- 2 *Latinis feriis*] The next duty of the consul was to preside at the Latin festival. This was a ceremony dating from the time of the old Latin League, when the thirty cities which composed it met yearly on the Alban mount.

*monte*] sc. *Albano*.

- 3 *nuncupatis*] From its position in the list of ceremonies it is probable that this refers not to the *votorum nuncupatio* made by the consul on his entry into office (see note on *publicis privatisque*), but to special vows made by him for the success of his campaign on his formal departure for his province.

- 4 § 7. *auspicia*] the subject to *sequi*, which = 'to attend'. Properly qualified persons were said *habere auspicia*, 'to possess the auspices', i.e. the right of taking them. *auspicia* is thus used in a more literal sense than *auspicium* in § 5.

- 5 *nova atque integra*] *atque* explanatory. There is a redundancy of expression. 'For the first time and when he had never taken them before'. C. and B. give the whole passage a different sense: 'and acquire the sanction of heaven afresh in its fulness'; I think wrongly.

*concipere*] = first, 'to comprise in words', hence 'to formulate'. *iurandum c.* = 'to take an oath'. *verbis conceptis* = 'in a set form of words'. V. 17. 2 *consules vitio creatos sacrum in Albano monte non rite concepisse*, 'to announce formally'. Cf. *feriae conceptivae*, 'festivals which were announced instead of taking place at fixed seasons'. *bellum concipere*, 'to declare war'. Here *concipere* = rather 'to take' than 'to declare' the auspices, though it properly indicates the form of words (cf. I. 18. 7) with which the ceremony was accompanied.

- 7 § 8. *militibus*] an ethical dative, which in meaning is practically equivalent to a genitive. Cf. I. 39. 1 *puero caput arsisse ferunt. aliquot* with *militibus*. For the prodigy cf. XLIII. 13. 6 *hasta...interdiu plus duas horas arsisse ita ut nihil eius ambureret ignis dicebat*. These flames were doubtless electrical.

- 8 *tenuerat*] *tenuerit* has been suggested, but Livy not unfrequently uses indic. for subj. in or. obliqua. In such cases there is in fact a change



back from the *oratio obliqua*, to give an impression of greater vividness and to indicate a livelier interest in the act; e.g. III. 71. 6 *ibi infit annum se tertium et octogensimum agere, et in eo agro de quo agitur militasse*. For much the same reason Livy often changes from secondary back to primary sequences in *oratio obliqua*.

9 *sanguine sudasse*] Valerius Maximus I. 6. 5 uses the same words, except that he has *sanguinem* for *sanguine*.

11 § 9. *orbem minui*] a partial eclipse seems to be referred to.

*Praeneste*] Palestrina, in Latium, some 14 miles S.E. of Rome, and an allied town. *Praeneste* is locative: so *Caere* XXI. 62. 8.

*lapides*] 'meteoric stones'.

12 *Arpis*] in Apulia. Cf. 9. 5, 12. 3.

13 § 10. *Capenae*] a Tuscan town founded by the Veientes, now S. Martino.

*aquas Caeretes*] Caere was famous for its warm baths.

14 *ipsum*] evidently the most important of the springs there. It was probably a warm sulphureous spring, as fountains of this kind are always associated with Hercules.

15 *Antii*] Porto d' Anzo on the Latian coast. There was there a famous temple of Fortuna, Hor. C. I. 35.

*metentibus*] dat. incommodi.

16 *cruentas*] probably a predicate, 'had fallen into the basket all bloody'.

§ 11. *Faleriis*] in Etruria near the *via Flaminia*.

17 *qua patuerit*] 'from the opening'.

18 *sortes*] We do not know of any oracle at Falerii; but the *sortes* were probably like those used at Antium, Praeneste and other places where the goddess Fortuna had temples. They were slips of wood on which proverbial phrases were written in ancient characters. To consult the oracle the priest sacrificed to the goddess, then a boy mixed the lots and drew one forth. See Cic. *de Div.* II. 86, cf. XXI. 62. 5.

*sua sponte*] 'spontaneously', without being touched.

*adenuatas*] 'shrunk', a bad sign; their swelling would have been a good one.

*excidisse*] probably from the place where they were kept, not from the urn on the consultation of the oracle. Specimens of *sortes* have been found pierced with holes, so that they could be suspended on a string or from pegs on the temple wall.

19 *ita scriptam*] 'with this inscription'. *scriptam* = *inscriptam* is poetical.

*telum*] = *hastam*.

- 21 § 12. *luporum*] not the wolf on the Capitol suckling Romulus and Remus: probably figures of wolves placed outside the temple of Mars as being connected with his worship. *Martiales...lupos*, Hor. C. I. 17. 9.

*speciem*] a predicate, 'there had been the appearance'.

- 22 *inter imbrem*] apparently a shower of rain is meant.

*cadentis*] perhaps a meteor may have afforded some ground for the story. Pliny, *N. H.* II. 35. 100, speaks of a spark (*scintillam de stella*) which fell from the sky and became larger as it approached the earth, till it had attained the size of the moon.

- 23 § 13. *dictu*] with *minoribus*.

*lanatas*] i.e. their hair had turned into wool.

*quibusdam*] cf. *metentibus* § 10.

- 25 § 14. *sicut erant nuntiata*] i.e. in the terms used by the narrators. *expositis* by the consuls.

- 27 § 15. *maioribus...lactentibus*] the regular expressions for 'full-grown' and 'young' victims or 'sucklings', in sacrificial language.

- 28 *procurarentur*] *procurare prodigia* = to take measures to avert the disasters portended by omens. No single word will give this meaning except perhaps 'expiate'.

*supplicatio*] a solemn service either of thanksgiving, as e.g. for a victory, or, as here, of prayer, in which the temples were visited by the citizens in procession. It was usually accompanied by a *lectisternium*.

- 29 § 16. *decemviri*] the keepers of the books.

*libros*] sc. *Sibyllinos*. They were only consulted on the occasion of extraordinary calamities for which the pontifices could prescribe no remedies. Tradition says that they had been brought to Rome in the time of the Tarquins. They were written in Greek, and were deciphered by two Greek interpreters attached to the decemviri for the purpose. Connected with the worship of the Greek Apollo, by whom the Sibyls were supposed to be inspired, their consultation is usually associated with the gradual engrafting of Greek forms of worship on the old Latin religion.

- 30 *cordi esse*] 'to be pleasing'. L. and S. render *cordi est* 'it lies at one's heart' as if *cordi* were a locative case. But *cordi* is a predicative dative, and *cordi esse* = to be a dear object. Cf. *corculum* used as a term of endearment, and *hoc iuvat et melli est* Hor. S. II. 6. 32.

31 *c carminibus*] 'in accordance with the prophecies'. The Sibylline books were written in verse. Cf. Verg. *B.* iv. 4 *Ultima Cumaci venit iam carminis aetas*.

*praefarentur*] 'declared': properly the verb means to repeat a formula. Cf. *praefere verba*. The subject is *decemviri*.

32 § 17. *pondo*] in full *fulmen pondo librarum* (or *libras*) *quinquaginta*. *pondo* is an ablative = 'in weight'. It is used either with the name of the weight expressed, as *unciam pondo* Plant. *Rudens* iv. 2. 8; *ut exercitus coronam auream dictatori libram pondo decreverit* Livy iii. 29. 3; or not expressed, when some case of *libra* is understood.

p. 3. 1 *fieret*] *ut* is omitted.

5 § 18. *lectisternium*] At this ceremony images or busts of the gods were laid on couches, and a banquet, provided under the direction of the *epulones*, placed before them. Hor. *C.* i. 37. 2 *nunc saliaribus ornare pulvinar deorum tempus erat dapibus sodales*. The first *lectisternium* was celebrated in 399 B.C., being prescribed by the Sibylline books.

6 *et ipsae*] = *quoque*, 'as well as the Roman matrons'.

*Feroniae*] An ancient Etruscan deity worshipped by Latins, Etruscans, and Sabines. According to Varro she was the goddess of Freedom. Slaves were emancipated in her temple at Tarracina.

8 § 19. *Ardeae*] Capital of the Rutuli in Latium. No portents have been mentioned as occurring at Ardea, but it possessed a temple of Aphrodite, and probably the Sibylline books had directed that sacrifice should be offered to Aphrodite.

9 *aedem Saturni*] in the forum at the foot of the Mons Capitolinus. It was used as the state treasury.

10 *eum lectum*] i.e. the couch on that occasion. *lectus*, the couch or *pulvinar* referred to in the note on *lectisternium* § 18.

11 *convivium publicum*] A feast at which the whole people were entertained, also called *epulum*. Hor. *S.* ii. 3. 86.

12 § 20. *Saturnalia clamata*] sc. *sunt*, 'Saturnalia was cried'. The cry was *io Saturnalia*. Cf. xxi. 62. 2 *infantem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse*, i.e. cried *io triumphe*. The festival of Saturn, during which this cry was raised in the streets, was instituted in 497 B.C. It originally lasted only one day, Dec. 19th. L. ii. 21. 2 *Saturnalia institutus festus dies*. Catullus xiv. 15 *Saturnalibus optimo dierum*. Julius Caesar lengthened it to 3 days, and in the time of Caligula it extended to 5 days. It was a time of merry-making, in some ways resembling our Christmas festivities, e.g. presents were exchanged. Mart. v. 18.

*cum diem*] i.e. the day of the Saturnalia, indicated in the preceding words.

## CHAPTER II.

- 14 § 1. *dilectu*] = *dilectui*, an old form. Cf. II. 5 *exercitu*.  
 15 *profectus ex hibernis*] Hannibal's winter-quarters were in the plain S. of Placentia and Cremona. Thence he crossed the Appennines probably by the road from Mutina over the Monte Cimone to Pescia. The passage of the Appennines is not expressly mentioned. Probably, unlike the attempted passage alluded to in c. I. 1 and described XXI. 58, it was effected without difficulty. See Appendix I.  
 16 *quia iam* etc.] the words explain why Hannibal preferred speed to convenience.

*Arretium*] commanding the route which passed up the Arno valley, and due South past Clusium to Rome. The operations of 217 B.C. shew that this route was already available for armies. But it was not till 171 B.C. that a military road was made from Rome to Arretium, and from Arretium to Bononia under the name of *via Cassia*. Mommsen, *R. H.* I. 387 note.

- 17 § 2. *aliud longius, ceterum commodius*] probably the road from Pescia to Faesulae, by Pistoria and Prato. As it skirted the hills which bounded the marsh-land to the N. it would have lain over firmer ground, but was certainly longer. Polybius III. 78. 6 adds another reason why Hannibal avoided this route, *τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐμβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν μακρὰς εὕρισκε καὶ προδήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις*. He found the other routes into the enemy's country too long and too patent to the foe. At Faesulae he would have been too near Flaminius.

- 18 *propiorem viam per paludes*] *paludes*, the marshes along the course of the Arno from Faesulae to Pisa, and extending N. as far as the spurs of the Appennines from which Hannibal descended. Hannibal probably struck across them S. from Pescia to Empoli. See Appendix I.

- 20 § 3. *et omne...robur*] 'in fact the whole flower'. Thus *robur* includes *Hispanos et Afros*, and refers to them especially. *robur*, lit. the strongest part.

- 21 *veterani*] the original army as opposed to the Gauls who had joined Hannibal in Italy. Besides *Afri et Hispani* it contained *Ligures* and *Baliares* XXI. 22. 2.

- 22 *ne cubi*] = *ne alicubi*, not found in Cicero.

*coactis*] = *si coacti essent*.

*usus*] 'needs'.

- 23 *id*]=*ii*. The Gauls are referred to, but the pronoun is attracted into agreement with *agmen*.
- 24 § 4. *Magonem*] brother of Hannibal. He had been in charge of an ambuscade at the battle of Trebia XXI. 55, and later on we shall find him commanding part of the Carthaginian centre at Cannae 47. 7.
- 25 *cogere agmen*] Livy seems to make four divisions: Polybius makes only three, for according to him Mago commands the cavalry in the rear (*οὐπαγλα*, corresponding to *novissimos...equites* here); not a force of light-armed.
- 26 *ut est mollis...gens*] 'with the incapacity for enduring hardship which distinguishes their race'. *ut* with some part of *esse* is often used to cite a well-known fact in confirmation of something that has preceded. Cf. Roby § 1707 E. *Permulta alia colligit Chrysippus ut est in omni historia curiosus*, Cic. *N. D.* I. 45.
- 27 § 5. *primi...sequebantur*] Polybius explains why. *οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰβηρες καὶ Αἰθῑοες δι' ἀκεραίων τῶν ἐλῶν ποιούμενοι τὴν πορείαν μετρίως κακοπαθοῦντες ἤνυσαν*. The Spaniards and Africans got on without being much distressed, as the marshes over which they marched were not yet trampled down.
- qua modo praeirent duces*] 'wherever, that is, the guides led them', the subjunctive owing to the restrictive meaning of *qua modo*, Roby § 1693, though Livy would use *qua* with the subjunctive even if the meaning of *qua* were merely indefinite and not also restrictive. See on *ubi procubuissent*, § 7.
- 28 *ac profundas*] 'and indeed almost bottomless'. *ac* is often used to subjoin an expression more emphatic than that which has preceded.
- 29 *inmergentesque se*] 'plunging into the water'. Cf. 6. 6.
- tamen*] correcting *hausti*, which=*quamvis hausti*. Cf. § 11 and 13. 3 *dubium Hannibalem...tamen moverunt*.
- 30 § 6. *sustinere se*] to 'hold up', 'recover themselves'.
- 31 *corpora...sustinebant*] C. and B. 'without spirit to eke out their strength, without hope to eke out their spirit'. With these words, which express the calling of one faculty to the aid of another, cf. *animum auribus praetendere*, Plin. *Ep.* VII. 27. 8, 'using his mind to stop his ears': of one who fixed his attention on a book that he might not hear a ghost.
- Polybius III. 79. 7 adds that they were only kept from retreating by the cavalry which had been charged to look after them.

- 32 § 7. *ubi...procubuissent*] Livy and later writers use *ubi*, *qua*, *cum*,  
L. XXII.

*utcunque, quicunque*, or the relative with the subjunctive, when the time or place of action is indefinite. The subjunctive is thus often used of repeated action. Cf. 38. 3 *ubi decuriatum convenissent coniurabant*.

p. 4. 1 *et ipsa*] sc. 'like themselves'. 1. 18.

4 § 8. *obtinentibus*] 'covering'.

*in sicco*] The combination of a preposition and the neuter singular of an adjective used substantivally, generally with some case of *locus* understood, is frequent in Livy. Cf. *in sicco* again in 3. 1: *ex adverso* 4. 4: *ex tuto* 12. 10.

5 *incumbebant*] Pol. III. 79. 10 καθεζόμενοι ἐπ' αὐτῶν (τῶν ὑποζυγίων) καὶ τῶν σκευῶν σωρηδὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὕγρὸν ὑπερεῖχον, 'sitting on the bodies of the baggage animals and on piles of baggage they kept above water'.

7 § 9. *acervis*] *iumentorum*.

*tantum quod extaret aqua*] The rhythm seems to shew that these words are governed by *quaerentibus* rather than *dabant*.

*ad quietem*] with *necessarium*.

9 § 10. *aeger oculis*] Pol. I. c. ὑπεραλγῆς ὦν διὰ τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς ἐπενεχθείσης ὀφθαλμίας αὐτῷ, 'being in great pain from the acuteness of the ophthalmia with which he had been attacked'.

*primum*] can hardly be rendered, unless by 'already', which does not give the meaning quite accurately; for *primum* really = 'in the first place', and should have been answered by *deinde*, when the sentence would have run thus: *H. aeger oculis primum ex verna intemperie... deinde vigiliis...capitur*. But the clause *elephanto...vectus* is introduced, expressing a step taken to obviate his indisposition, but, as the sequel shews, taken in vain, and therefore the clause which succeeds must be introduced by *tamen*, and *deinde* remains unexpressed.

*intemperie*] firstly = 'intemperateness'. Thus *intemperies caeli, aquarum* = 'a storm'. Thence it is used alone here for 'bad weather'.

10 *unus*] out of 37, XXI. 58. 11.

12 § 11. *caelo*] 'climate'.

*gravante*] 'affecting'.

13 *altero oculo*] Pol. ἐσπερήθη τῆς μιᾶς ὀψεως. Nepos on the other hand says that only the sight of one eye was weakened. *Hann.* 4.

Cf. Juvenal x. 157:

*o qualis facies et quali digna tabella  
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum.*

## CHAPTER III.

14 § 1. *foede*] 'ingloriously', as not on the field of battle; or, as is more likely, 'amid horrible misery', C. and B. *foedus* often = 'dreadful' in Livy. Cf. XXI. 36. 7 *taetra ibi luctatio fuit*.

15 *in sicco*] 2. 8.

16 *certum habuit*] = *certior factus est*.

18 *circa*] not necessarily 'all round': we should say 'under'.

20 § 2. *copias ad commeatus expediendos*] 'the resources which the country offered for obtaining supplies', D.

21 *in rem erat*] 29. 8, 'it was to his purpose': lit. 'it tended towards'.

Thus different from *ob rem*, *ex re esse*, which have a similar meaning.

22 *inquirendo exequatur*] 'carefully investigated'. This verb is frequently used with abl. of the gerund. VI. 14. 13 *quaerendo*. IX. 3. 11 *percunctando* (D.).

23 § 3. *Italiae*] depending on *primis*, 'among the most fertile in Italy'. It was less so than the plain of Campania.

*Faesulas Arretiumque*] The preceding words are not very applicable to the country between Faesulae (Fiesole) and Arretium, which lay along the valley of the Arno. Either Livy has made a mistake in mentioning Faesulae, or he means another place of the same name further south. Cf. on *Faesulas* § 6.

24 *frumenti...pecoris*] These words probably depend on *copia*, like *rerum*; though *opulentus* is also found with a genitive. Hor. C. I. 17. 14 *copia ruris honorum opulenta*.

25 § 4. *consul*] This sentence refers back to *animus* in § 2, as the preceding sentence does to *situm regionum* and *copias*.

*ferox*] 'bold': the usual meaning of *ferox*.

*ab*] 'in consequence of'. XXI. 54. 6 *a destinato iam ante consilio avidus certaminis*.

*consulatu priore*] in 223 B.C. when he had vanquished the Insubres on the Oglio (Mommsen II. 82).

26 *non modo*] = *non modo non*; for if both clauses have a common predicate to which the negative belongs, and the predicate stands in the second clause, the negative which lies in *ne...quidem* may be referred to the whole. Madvig L. G. § 461. Cic. *Laelius* 24 *assentatio non modo amico sed ne libero quidem digna est*. In such cases *non modo* is best rendered by 'I do not say', or 'much less'. Cf. 28. 5.

*legum*] i.e. 'the resolutions of the comitia'. *patrum*, i.e. 'the decrees of the senate'.



*maiestatis...deorum...metuens*] Weissenborn gives two references for doubtful speeches of Cicero: *Cum senatu* 4, *De Domo* 70. Except for this, *metuens* with a genitive is a poetical constr. Hor. *S.* II. 2. 110 *contentus parvo metuensque futuri*. Juv. VII. 210 *metuens virgae*.

*non...satis metuens*] 'not much afraid', *satis* having a strong sense when a negative precedes. But the expression is ironical, meaning 'caring very little for'.

- 28 *prospero successu*] *successus* = 'a happy issue', without the addition of an epithet, which is rare.

*civilibus bellicisque rebus*] *civilibus* referring to the law which he carried as tribune in 232 B.C. for allotting the territory of the Boii in Picenum to settlers, also to the making of the *via Flaminia* and the *circus Flaminius*; *bellicis* referring to his victory over the Insubres in his consulship in 223 B.C.

- 29 *aluerat*] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 26 *coalitam libertate irreverentiam*, 'fostered by freedom'.

- 30 § 5. *quoque...vitia sua*] 'that he might yield the sooner to his special failings'.

- 32 § 6. *Faesulas petens*] If Livy means the place usually known as Faesulae, i.e. the modern Fiesole, he must be mistaken here. Fiesole lies a little way north of Florence, and therefore far north of Arezzo, where Flaminius was; while Livy says that Hannibal passed to the central plain of Etruria, and therefore to the south of Flaminius.

But it is possible that he means another place further to the south. Difficulties arise in other passages over the name Faesulae. Polybius II. 25 says that in 225 B.C. the invading Gauls reached Clusium, and then marched in the direction of Faesulae (ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν Φαίσολαν) or due N. from Clusium. Yet they are next found at Telamon, the scene of their defeat, which lies S.W. of Clusium. It is possible then that there was another Faesulae in Etruria, further to the S., and that it is to this place that Livy here refers.

Polybius' account is indeed intelligible, without supposing the existence of another Faesulae. He says that it was *from* the neighbourhood of Faesulae that Hannibal started. 'Ὡς γὰρ θάττον ποιησάμενος ἀναζυγὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φαισόλαν τόπων καὶ μικρὸν ὑπεράρας τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπεδεῖαν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην χώραν εὐθέως μετέωρος ἦν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κ.τ.λ., 'as soon as he had started from the neighbourhood of Faesulae, and passing a little beyond the Roman army, entered the country which lay before him, Flaminius was straightway seized with perplexity' etc. III. 82. 1.

But if intelligible it is not probable, unless he used the words τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φαισόλαν τόπων very loosely indeed (and it should be observed that this is Polybius' practice when indicating places). It is not probable that Hannibal ascended the Arno valley from the marshes, as he must have done had he gone to Faesulae, because he could hardly have eluded the notice of Flaminius (see on 2. 2 and Appendix I.).

For this reason there is little inducement to adopt D.'s conjecture *praeteriens*. More probably he ascended the Elsa from Empoli and reached the plain where Siena stands, on the Greve further to the E. than the Elsa, and joined the road leading from Florence by San Casciano and the valley of the Clanis (Chiana) and Clusium (Chiusi). In either case he leaves the enemy on his left (*laeva relicto hoste*) and reaches the central plain of Etruria (*medio Etruriae campo*), which he would not have done had he followed the valley of the Arno.

p. 5. 3 § 7. *tum*] like *nunc* and Greek νῦν δὲ opposes an actual to a supposed state of things.

4 *ferri agique*] cf. 1. 2.

5 *suum...dedecus*] 'a personal disgrace'.

6 *atque*] intensive, 2. 5 note.

*Romana*] more emphatic than *Romae*.

7 § 8. *omnibus*] an exaggeration. Pol. III. 82. 4 τινῶν οἰομένων.

8 *conlegam*] Servilius, who had been posted at Ariminum.

10 § 9. *interim...cohibendum*] adversative asyndeton.

11 *effusa*] 'unchecked'. Cf. *effuse rapiébant* 9. 3.

12 *itineri pugnaeque*] The command was probably that the army should march *agmine quadrato*, in fighting order.

13 § 10. *immo...sedeamus*] Flaminius ironically affects to adopt and improve upon the cautious suggestions of his advisers. *sedere*=to remain inactive.

15 *vastando...urendo*] The ablative of the gerund is often used by Livy and Tacitus with a meaning more nearly approaching that of a present participle than of an ablative of manner or means: e.g. Tac. *A.* XIV. 31 *exturbabant agris, captivos servos appellando*.

17 *Camillum*] In 390 B.C., when Rome was besieged by the Gauls. According to Livy IX. 4. 67 it was from Ardea to Veii that Camillus was summoned, from Veii he marched to the relief of Rome. But the statement is repeated 14. 11. ?

19 § 11. *equius...conruiit*] These ominous incidents are not mentioned by Polybius, and are probably due to Coelius Antipater. Polybius merely says τέλος δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἀναξεύξας πρόηγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

- 20 *super caput*] 'over its (the horse's) head'. Plut. *Fab.* 3 renders it wrongly: *κατενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλῇν*.
- 21 § 12. *velut*] indicates that what follows was the opinion of the parties concerned, not that of the writer: 'considering it'.  
*incipiendae rei*] gen. loosely governed by *omen*, 'an ill omen for the beginning of a campaign'. XXI. 29. 4 *omen belli*.
- 22 *moliente*] sc. *signum*, 'striving to move it', so *ancoras moliri* XXVIII. 17, to hoist up the anchors.
- 24 § 13. *litteras*] Flaminius alludes to the despatches from the senate recalling him to Rome, which he received just before his victory over the Insubres in 223 B.C. He did not read them till after the battle, XXI. 63. 12.
- 25 *ad convellendum obtorpuerint*] 'if their hands are too numb with terror to pull it up'. Just so we should render *pauci ad oppugnandum hostem* 'too few to attack the enemy'.
- 27 § 14. *primoribus*] the officers.  
*superquam quod*] = *praeterquam quod*, 7. 4. Cf. 6. 11 *super cetera* = *praeter cetera*.
- 28 *consilio*] Flaminius' design of attacking the enemy.  
*milite in vulgus*] 'the soldiers generally'. 30. 7 *non magis imperatorum quam vulgo militum. in vulgus* 12. 12 has a more literal meaning.

## CHAPTER IV.

- 31 § 1. *Cortonam*] an important town. *A Perusia et Cortona et Arretio quae ferme capita Etruriae populorum ea tempestate erant*, IX. 37 fin. It lay S. of Arretium on the road to Perusia and some 8 miles N. of lake Trasimene.

*Trasumennum*] Lago di Perugia. 'It is a noble lake in point of size (it is 10 miles from N. to S., 8 from E. to W.), and some of the hills round it are well wooded. Its sides however are reedy, and the air on its banks is unwholesome'. Arnold, *Unpub. Journal*, Second Punic War, ed. W. J. Arnold, p. 385.

With the termination *-ennus*, cf. Sisenna, Porsenna and other Etrurian proper names.

- p. 6. 1 *hosti*] cf. *militibus* 1. 8.

3 § 2. *maxime subit*] 'comes close up under'. *maxime* = *proxime*. *montes Cortonenses*] in particular the Monte Gualandro.

4 *via perangusta*] The defile between Mte Gualandro and the lake,

on its N.W. shore, near the village of Borghetto. The road now comes down over the spurs of Gualandro. It appears from this passage that it used to run along the edge of the lake.

5 *id ipsum*] 'that very purpose'. The expression is vague, it means 'the formation of a road'.

6 *paulo latior campus*] E. of the defile just mentioned the hills recede from the lake and there is a plain varying from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles in width and about 4 miles in length. About half-way along a wooded hill, on which the village of Tuoro (Torre) now stands, advances into the plain dividing it into two basins of nearly equal size. The line of the hills to the N. of the plain thus resembles the shape of an ancient bow.

7 *inde colles insurgunt*] Vulg. *assurgunt*, P *ad insurgunt*. *insurgunt* implies a steep, *assurgunt* a gradual ascent. The words may refer to the elevation on which Tuoro stands (see preceding note); but more probably to the point 4 miles E. of the first defile where the hills again approach the lake and form the defile at Passignano, by which the Romans intended to leave the plain. See Appendix II. init.

§ 3. *ibi*] not *in collibus*, but on the plain at the point where the hills began to rise, at the foot of the pass.

8 *ubi*] = *ut ibi*, hence the subjunctive.

*modo*] = *tantum*, 'just'. The *Hispani et Afri* constituted however the most important part of his army.

9 *post montis circumducit*] Hannibal, encamped on the plain to the E. of Tuoro, sent his light-armed W. round to the rear of the hills which bounded the plain on the N., and especially to the hill of Tuoro itself. They were probably just behind the crest of the hills so as to be invisible to the enemy. Pol. ἐπὶ πολὺ παρατείνας ὑπέστειλε, 'placed them under cover'. Cf. § 4 *insidiae*.

10 *ipsas fauces saltus*] at the entrance of the defile (*via perangusta* § 2), near Borghetto, but probably at the E. end of the defile where it opened on to the plain.

14 § 4. *inexplorato*] this use of the participle, either alone as in *nondum palam facto* 55. 3, *inauspicato* XXI. 63. 7, or with a clause dependent upon it, as in X. 36. 7 *edicto...ut hostem haberent*, is common in Livy and prose-writers of the Imperial times. In Cicero it is of rarer occurrence. In Caesar there are only a few instances (*bipartito*, *tripartito*, *consulto*, Draeger) and these without a dependent clause. The word expresses the whole blame attaching to Flaminius, and it is great. That he acted wrongly in pursuing Hannibal does not appear.

*satis*] 'quite', 3. 4 note.

15 *pandi...coepit*] not *coeptum est*, for *pandi*=*se pandere*, 'to deploy'.

16 *ex adverso*] the infantry under Hannibal, drawn up *in aperto* and fronting the line of march.

17 *ab tergo*] the cavalry, § 3.

*super caput*] the light-armed, especially those on the hill of Tuoro, immediately beneath which the Romans were passing.

*haud dispectae*] *P. deceptae* which Madvig retains. Weissenborn *decepere insidiae*; but *decepere*=*ἐλαθον*, like *fefellere*, is most unusual. It can only be paralleled by Hor. *S.* 1. 3. 39 where the verb is helped out by an adjective, *amatorem quod amicae turpia decipiunt caecum vitia*.

18 § 5. *clausum habuit*] 'had got the enemy shut in'. This combination implies a more lasting effect of the action than *clausit*.

*circumfusum copiis*] not inconsistent with *clausum lacu ac montibus* just above, which refers to the fact that the Romans had the mountains on one flank, and the lake on the other. *circumfusum* is a picturesque expression, and further *circum*, *circa* are constantly used by Livy not meaning 'all round', e.g. XXI. 25. 2 *circa Padum*. Polybius however has *συνεπιχίρει πανταχόθεν ἅμα τοῖς πολεμίοις*. See Appendix II.

19 *simul*] with *invadendi*.

20 § 6. *qua cuique proximum fuit*] 'each man by the nearest way'. Pol. κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους.

22 *campo...montibus*] Livy is more free than his predecessors in the use of the ablative of place without *in*, 43. 10, 59. 15.

*densior*] used adverbially.

23 *sederat*] 'had settled'. Parts of *sedeo* are used for the perfects and pluperfects of *sido*, *sidi* not being used.

*inter se*] denotes reciprocity. 1. 3 *ipsorum inter se fraude*.

24 *conspecta*] not *erant*, the verb is *decucurrerant*, 'the enemy's troops had a good view of each other before they charged down, and consequently did so better together'. *conspecta* may, but need not necessarily, = *conspicabilia*, cf. 7. 1 *memorata*.

25 § 7. *prius*] with *sensit*, either absolute 'before he could clearly distinguish anything': cf. Ter. *Ad.* 439 *estne hic Hegio? si satis cerno, is est*; or with *se circumventum esse*, which must then be repeated with *sensit*. In this case the antithesis between *cerneret* and *sensit*, 'seeing' and 'hearing', becomes more marked.

26 *latera*] The Romans were only being attacked on one flank (the left), for their right flank was covered by the lake, see 5. 6. The

use of the plural is rhetorical, cf. *circumfusum* § 5. Polybius on the other hand says distinctly that the Romans were completely surrounded.

III. 84. 3 ἄμα γὰρ κατὰ πρόσωπον, οἱ δ' ἀπ' οὐρᾶς, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων αὐτοῖς προσέπιπτον. See App. II.

- 27 *expediri*] before they could get them clear, or get them ready. On the march the shield was often suspended from the left shoulder, and the helmet by strap from the right.

## CHAPTER V.

- 29 § 1. *ut in re trepida*] 'considering the confusion of the moment'. For this qualifying use of *ut* cf. Cic. *Fin.* IV. 1. 1 *Ne tu ista exposuisti ut tam multa memoriter, ut tam obscura dilucide*, 'considering their number accurately'. *ut* is also used = *ut par erat*, 'as was natural'.

- 30 *vertente se quoque*] this explains *turbatos*.

*ad*] 'in the direction of'. They could not see their assailants.

- p. 7. 1 § 2. *inde*] with *evadendum*, 'they must get out of this'.

2 *deum*] objective gen.

4 *ferme*] 'generally speaking'.

5 § 3. *consilium...imperium*] referring to *adhortatur...iubet* respectively.

7 *capienda aptandaque pugnae*] 'To seize and put on for the battle'. *pugnae* dat. purpose.

8 *onerati*] Polybius III. 84. 4 διὸ καὶ συνέβη τοὺς πλείστους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πορείας σχήματι κατακοπήναι. Whence it happened that most of them were cut down just in their marching equipment. See on *expediri* 4. 7.

- 10 § 4. *ad*] as in § 1, or merely = 'at'. Juv. XIII. 223 *hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent*.

*corporum aut armorum*] objective genitives, 'blows falling on body or armour'.

- 11 *terrentium paventiumque*] lit. of those who were causing or feeling fear: 'the mingled shouts of triumph or panic', C. and B., gives the meaning fairly well. This use of the gen. plur. of the participle when we should put an abstract substantive is common in Livy.

- 13 § 5. *haerebant*] 'were brought to a halt'.

- 15 § 6. *impetus capti*] sc. *sunt*, not unfrequent in Livy e.g. VIII. 30. 6 *aliquotiens impetu capto*. *impetum facere* is more common, 6. 4.

- 16 *a fronte*] The infantry under Hannibal, the same as *id hostium quod ex adverso erat* 4. 4, and 6. 8 *adversos hostes*.

*ab tergo*] the cavalry and the Gauls, 4. 4.

*clauderat*] the object is not expressed. Cf. XXI. 43. 3 *dextra laevaue duo maria claudunt*.

18 § 7. *factus*] = *factus est*.

19 *illa*] properly 'the well known'. 'As usual' would give the meaning.

*per*] expresses the manner.

*principes...triarios*] only loosely enumerated, for the *hastati* really formed the first rank, the *principes* the second, in the manipular legion, 340—105 B.C. Or Livy may have made a mistake in speaking of a formation which was no longer in use in his day. Cf. *cohorte* in this section.

20 *ut pugnaret*] this may be called the definitive use of *ut*. It is really an *ut* of consequence, and is often preceded by *ita*. It might be rendered, 'with the advanced guard...fighting'. Cf. 43. 4.

*antesignani*] 'front rank men', so called because in a battle the standards of the first line which was engaged with the enemy were placed behind the maniples which composed it. Thus *antesignani* generally = the *hastati*. Cf. L. VIII. 11. 7 *caesos hastatos principesque, stragem et ante signa et post signa factam, triarios postremo rem restituisse*. But if necessary the *principes* could take the place of the *hastati* and then they would be *antesignani*. Livy IX. 39. 7 *cadunt antesignani et ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa fit ex secunda prima acies*. Before the time of Marius *signa* always properly means the standards of the maniples. After his time it may = the *signa cohortium* or the eagles of the legion. Marquardt, *Staats-Verwaltung*, II. 342.

21 *alia*] = *cetera*. This use of *alius* = ὁ ἄλλος occurs not unfrequently in Livy. To give one instance, *Jovem deosque alios* XXVI. 8. 5. An incorrect and colloquial way of speaking, it is avoided by Cicero, but occurs several times in the comedians.

22 *cohorte*] the use of the word in writing of the Second Punic war is an anachronism. Before the time of Marius, 105 B.C., the legion was divided into 30 maniples, after him into 10 cohorts.

§ 8. *animus*] 'impulse', C. and B., rather 'courage'.

23 *ante aut post*] used adverbially, 'in front or rear'.

*pugnandi*] with *ordinem*, sc. the post where he was to fight.

24 *animorum...animus*] The occurrence of the same word thrice is probably due rather to carelessness than design. W. refers to VI. 61. 8 where the word *arx* occurs thrice in the same sentence. One MS. gives *armorum* for *animorum*.



- 25 *motum terrae*] probably from Coelius Antipater, as Cicero refers to him as his authority for the same incident. *Div.* 1. 78.
- 28 *senserit*] the ordinary sequence would have been *sentiret*. Livy however like Nepos often uses the perf. subj. with a consecutive *ut* after a secondary tense. It is done to give greater liveliness to the narrative, and is analogous to the change from a past tense to the historic present in or. recta.

## CHAPTER VI.

- 30 § 1. *infestior*] 'more savage'.
- 31 § 2. *eum*] placed first for emphasis, though it is governed by the verb of one clause only. Perhaps originally the sentence was intended to have run thus: *eum et...sequebantur...et...petebant*: but a clause was inserted describing Flaminius' own action, and the clause which should have corresponded to *et sequebantur* is added supplementarily.
- robora virorum*] 'the bravest soldiers'. The general had no regular body-guard, *cohors praetoria*, till the time of Scipio Africanus minor.
- p. 8. 3 § 3. *Insuber*] Polybius does not give the name of the Gaul or his words. III. 84. 6 ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καὶ τὸν Φλαμίνιον αὐτὸν...προσπεσόντες τινὲς τῶν Κελτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.
- 4 *facie quoque*] as well as by his armour, which rendered him conspicuous.
- 5 *legiones*] Livy constantly applies Roman military terms to foreign armies.
- cecidit...defopulatus*] The order of the events is inverted. In 232 B.C. Flaminius, then tribune, passed an agrarian law for placing settlers on the territory of the Senones. As consul in 223 B.C. he defeated the Insubrians N. of the Po, probably on the Oglio, a tributary of that river. XXI. 63. 2. Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* 11. 81. On each of these occasions he had roused the hostility of the *nobiles*; on the first because he deprived them of lands which they had occupied for grazing purposes; on the second because he disregarded a despatch from the senate recalling him to Rome. Dr Arnold says, 'In these last words we probably read the unquenchable hatred of the Roman aristocracy rather than the genuine language of the Gaul'.
- 6 *urbem*] what city is referred to is uncertain. Mediolanum was taken by Marcellus in 222 B.C.
- 7 § 4. *peremptorum foede*] Early in his campaign with the Insubres Flaminius was in a dangerous position, with the Po in his rear, from which he only escaped by making a capitulation to secure a free retreat.

He then retired to the territory of the Cenomani, and in conjunction with them returned and gained the victory just alluded to. This the Insubres probably regarded as a breach of the treaty.

9 *infesto venienti*] We should say 'his charge'. For this adverbial use of an adjective cf. 4. 6 *densior sederat*. 7. 13 *maestam sedentem*. It is commoner in poetry. Hor. *S. I.* 6. 128 *domesticus otior*.

11 *triarii*] the veterans, the third line in the Roman order of battle at this time. Cf. 5, 7 *antesignani*, note.

§ 5. *magnae partis*] as opposed to *sex milia* § 8.

13 *omnia arta praeruptaque*] sc. *loca*, 'by every defile and up every cliff'. Livy often uses neut. plur. adjectives substantivally, especially when they indicate locality.

14 *evadunt*] the present is used here of attempted action.

15 § 6. *pars magna*] Polybius III. 84. 8 describes a similar scene, but this part of his narrative refers only to such of the troops as had not yet emerged from the defile. See Appendix II. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πορείαν μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῆς παρωπέλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς συγκλεισθέντες αἰσχροῦς ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τάλαιπῶρος διεφθέροντο. 'Those who while in the marsh were shut in in the defile between the lake and the mountain perished disgracefully and still more miserably'.

*prima*] 'at the edge of the lake'.

16 *quoad...possunt*] i.e. 'till they could *only* keep head and shoulders above water'. Pol. I. c. τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ἐννάτου προβαῖνον εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἔμενε τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τὸ ὕγρον ὑπερίσχον, 'with just their heads above water'.

17 *sese immergunt*] that this='immersed', not 'drowned' themselves (C. and B.), appears from Polybius, quoted in the preceding note.

*inconsultus pavor*] 'wild panic'.

19 § 7. *gurgitibus*] 'the depths'.

21 *trucidabantur*] Polybius adds what Livy suppresses: δέδμενοι ζωγρεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφιέμενοι φωνὴν τὸ τελευταῖον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς δὲ παρακαλέσαντες αὐτοὺς διεφθάρησαν, 'Lifting up their hands and begging for quarter and crying aloud in every variety of tone, they were destroyed, some by the enemy, some by their own hands'.

22 § 8. *primi agminis*] 'the vanguard'. Pol. τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐλωνα, those engaged in the valley as distinguished from those shut in between the mountains and the lake. But according to Livy the whole army was between the mountains and the lake. See Appendix II.

*adversos hostes*] the infantry under Hannibal=*id hostium quod ex adverso erat* 4. 4.

23 *ignari*] agreeing with *milia*, κατὰ σύνεσιν. XXI. 21. 13 *quattuor milia...praesidium eisdem et obsides.*

*ignari omnium*] Polybius says they pushed on, expecting to meet an enemy to attack till they found themselves to their surprise on the heights above. III. 84. 12.

24 *saltu*] probably, the second defile, at Passignano, as *saltus* 4. 4, = the first defile, at Borghetto.

*tumulo*] this might be the hill on which Magione now stands. Pol. ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων.

27 § 9. *incinrata re*] 'when the battle was decided'. The metaphor is from the turning of the scales.

*dispulsa nebula*] 'the dispersion of the mist'.

28 *aperuisset diem*] 'had allowed daylight to become visible'. Cf. 19. 7 *nondum aperientibus classem promuntoriis.*

*liquida iam*] opposed to *vixdum certa luce* 4. 4.

30 § 10. *conspectos*] = *si conspecti essent.*

32 § 11. *super cetera*] = *praeter cetera.* Cf. 3. 14 *superquam.*

p. 9. 1 *extrema*] with *fames.*

*Maharbale*] Polybius states that the 6000 retreated to a village of Etruria (Magione?) which was invested by Maharbal.

4 § 12. *Punica religione*] XXI. 4. 9 *fides plusquam Punica* of Hannibal.

*fides*] Polybius III. 85. 1 adds that all the prisoners, 15,000 in number, were brought before Hannibal, who made them a speech declaring that Maharbal had acted without his sanction in promising to release those who had surrendered, and inveighing ('with the vehemence', says Dr Arnold, 'often displayed by Napoleon under similar circumstances') against the Roman people. He ended by giving the Roman prisoners into the custody of the several divisions of his army. Then he turned to the Italian allies. He had not, he said, come to fight against them, but against the Romans, that they might be free. To prove the truth of his words he dismissed them without a ransom.

5 *atque...coniecti*] The conjunction in one sentence of two coordinate clauses with different nominatives is unusual in Livy, and rather inelegant; but emphatic, and Livy means to be emphatic here.

## CHAPTER VII.

6 § 1. *nobilis*] 'famous', the original meaning of the word, 39. 9.

*inter paucas memorata...clades*] *inter paucas memorata* should be taken together. *inter paucas*, an idiomatic expression first used by Livy. Cf. *imprimis.*

7 *memorata*] = *memorabilis*. So *contemptus*, *invictus*, etc. = 'contemptible', 'invincible'. *clades*, nom. with *populi Romani*.

8 § 2. *decem milia...petiere*] Polybius says nothing of these. From his account it appears that the whole army, with the exception of the prisoners, was destroyed.

10 § 3. *duo milia quingenti*] Polybius says only 1500, of whom the majority were Gauls. III. 85. 5.

11 *multi...ex vulneribus*] a statement added, as Ihne suggests (*Hist.* II. 209, note), to soothe the soreness of Italian patriotism.

12 *multiplex*] 'many times as great as this'.

13 *aliis*] probably Valerius Antias, for Livy says XXXIII. 10. 8 *si Valerius quis credat omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti*.

§ 4. *auctum ex vano*] 'idly exaggerated'. XXI. 32. 10 *ex aperto atque interdu*, 'openly'. MSS. *haustum ex vano*, 'drawn from an untrustworthy source'.

14 *quo*] 'to which', i.e. exaggeration.

*scribentium*] 'writers'. Cf. Greek οἱ λέγοντες, 'speakers'.

15 *Fabium*] Fabius was, as Livy says, a contemporary of the Second Punic war. He wrote a history of Rome in Greek from the earliest times down to his own. Polybius blames him for partiality to his own countrymen (I. 14), and it seems likely that certain accounts unduly exalting his kinsman the dictator are due to him. Cf. the variations just noticed between his account and that of Polybius. See *Introd.*

*temporibus*] dat. governed by *aequalem*, and governing *huiusce belli aequalis* is however also used with a genitive.

16 § 5. *captivorum*] partitive genitive depending on *iis*, antecedent to *qui*. Hannibal addressed them. See on 6. 11.

*qui...essent*] the subjunctive because the persons are indefinite; 'whoever were of the Latin name'.

19 *sepeliri*] only the most illustrious. Polybius III. 85. 5 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἔθαψεν, ὄντας εἰς τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

*Flamini corpus*] 'So he acted afterwards to L. Aemilius and to Marcellus; and these humanities are worthy of notice, as if he wished to shew that, though his vow bound him to unrelenting enmity towards the Romans while living, it was a pleasure to him to feel that he might honour them when dead'. Arnold III. Such conduct is hardly consistent with the estimate of Hannibal's character given by Livy (XXI. 4. 9), who enumerates among his qualities *inhumana crudelitas*.

21 § 6. *ad*] 'at'. XXI. 61. 4 *ad famam novorum hostium*. Cf. § 13.

22 *populū*] depends on *concursum*.

- 23 § 7. *repens*] an adjective (= *repentina*), used adverbially. Cf. 8. 1;  
21, 6.
- 24 *frequentis contionis modo*] describing *turba*, 'a crowd as thick as a thronged assembly', C. and B. *modo* indicates that this was not a formally summoned assembly. Polybius however says οἱ προεστῶτες τοῦ πολιτεύματος συναθροίσαντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.
- 25 *comitium*] the part of the Forum nearest to the Capitol and the Curia; so called because it was the meeting-place of the *comitia centuriata*. Later on in the course of this war it was roofed in. XXVII. 36.
- 27 § 8. *praetor*] *peregrinus*: M. Aemilius was *praetor urbanus*, 33. 8; he was also in the city, § 14.  
*pugna magna*] Plutarch, *Fabius*, 3 νενικήμεθα μεγάλην μάχην καὶ διέφθαρται τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὑπατος ἀπόβληεν.
- 30 § 9. *caesum*] sc. *caesum esse*, governed by *referunt* which = *nuntiant*.
- 31 § 10. *quot...tot*] for instance, a mother not knowing whether her son had been slain or captured, or whether he was flying for his life through Etruria, would imagine him now in one of the situations, now in another.
- 32 *in curas distracti*] we should say 'distracted by anxieties'.
- p. 10. 3 *satis*] 'nor was anyone quite certain'. *satis* generally has this strong meaning when preceded by an actual or virtual negative.
- 4 § 11. *postero*] sc. *die*.  
*deinceps aliquot diebus*] 'on several successive days'. The adverb is used here instead of an adjective or relative clause.
- 7 *utique ab notis*] 'at least from such of the arrivals as they knew'.  
*utique* = *saltem*. The addition of *que* gives indefiniteness to the meaning of *uti* (cf. *quicunque* etc.), and the compound = 'anyhow'. (1) Without a negative it = 'at least'. Cic. *Att.* XIII. 48. 2 *velim Varronis et Lollii mittas laudationem, Lollii utique*, 'anyhow' i.e. 'at least' that of Lollius. (2) With a negative it = 'certainly not'. L. II. 59. 4 *concurrunt ad eum legati monentes ne utique experiri vellet imperium*, 'that anyhow he should not aspire to supreme power', i.e. certainly not.
- 8 § 12. *inde*] of time, of place 5. 2.
- 9 *cerneres*] 'you might have seen'. Gk. ἦν ἰδεῖν. 46. 4 *crederes*.
- 10 *gratulantis...consolantis*] governed like *vultus* by *cerneres*. Polybius' account is not so graphic, nor does he give the anecdotes which follow. He only says, 'the Romans long unused to defeat shewed neither moderation nor dignity under their reverse of fortune'. οὐ μετρίως οὐδὲ κατὰ σχῆμα τὴν περιπέτειαν ἔφερον, 111. 85. 9.

- 11 *gaudia*] 'manifestations of joy'. So *luctus*.  
 14 § 13. *maestam*] used adverbially. Cf. 5. 6.  
*ad*] § 6, *ad primum nuntium* note.  
 16 § 14. *praetores*] since 227 B.C. four in number. In 217 B.C. they were Aemilius and Pomponius, *pr. urbanus* and *peregrinus* (see on § 8 *praetor*), and two more, Otacilius and Mammula, afterwards employed in Sicily and Sardinia.

## CHAPTER VIII.

- 19 § 1. *satis certa*] 'quite settled', see on *satis* 10. 3. *priusquam* is a virtual negative, for the meaning is the same as would be conveyed by *cum nondum certa essent*.

*priusquam...essent*] Livy and Tacitus use the subjunctive with *antequam*, *priusquam*, *donec*, of events in the past. Tac. *H.* IV. 35 *pugnatum donec proelium nox dirimeret*.

*repens*] see on 7. 7.

- 21 *propraetore*] He was not one of the praetors of 218 B.C., but probably a legate of Servilius with this title.

*missa ad conlegam ab Servilio*] Servilius had been originally posted at Ariminum (Pol. III. 77. 2, 86. 1) to guard the Flaminian road and prevent the advance of Hannibal down the eastern coast of Italy. When it appeared that Hannibal was advancing through Etruria, Servilius resolved to effect a junction with his colleague. Polybius says III. 86. 3 *πᾶσι μὲν ἐπεβάλετο τοῖς στρατοπέδοις αὐτὸς συνάπτειν*. The plan of the consuls may have been that Servilius should march rapidly along the Flaminian road from Umbria and throw himself between Hannibal and Rome. The Carthaginians would thus have found themselves between the army of Servilius in front and that of Flaminius in the rear. (Ihne, II. 204.)

- 22 *in Umbria...circumventa*] from the words *quo...iter* it appears that they had already reached Etruria when the news of the battle reached them. They had followed the Flaminian road (Nissen, *Rhein. Museum*, XX. 228), and had probably left it at Mevania to turn to the right towards Perusia.

Neither Polybius nor Livy mention the exact spot where the disaster took place. Appian put it at a lake called Pleistine, otherwise unknown. Nissen thinks that the lake Pleistine, like several lakes that existed formerly in central Italy, is now dried up, and that its bed is to be recognized in the valley of Pistia on the road from Foligno to

Camarino. This theory is consistent with the view expressed in the preceding note.

24 *circumventa*] Pol. adds that it was Maharbal with the light-armed and some cavalry that was sent against them, that half the Romans were slain at the first onset, and that the remainder were pursued to a hill where they surrendered the next day. III. 86. 4.

26 § 2. *ex comparatione*] 'by comparison', *ex* properly = 'in consequence of'. *priorum* an ordinary objective gen. and not what Roby calls a genitive of the remoter object, for it represents an accusative governed by *comparare* (on comparing the former disaster with it), Roby § 1312, not an ablative with *cum* (on comparing it with the former disaster). Roby § 1318.

27 § 3. *per*] expresses the standard of comparison.

28 *adfecto*] 'weakened'. *adficere* is more often used with an adverb as in the preceding section.

p. 11. 1 § 4. *incideret*] Madvig's alteration for P *inciderit*, perhaps unnecessary, for the change from secondary to primary sequence is not uncommon in Livy.

2 *magnitudine...viribus*] the ablatives express the standard of comparison.

*extenuatis*] stronger than *attenuatis*. It is used to express the shrinking of the sacred lots, XXI. 62. 5.

*quod adgravaret*] the object is *vires*, 'nothing which placed any additional strain on their strength'. *adgravare* is not used intransitively.

3 *aestimandum esse*] governed by some verb of saying suggested by *aestimare*, or else by *ducere*.

4 § 5. *iam diu...adhibitum*] the last *dictator rei gerendae causa* A. Atilius Calatinus had been appointed 32 years before, in 349 B.C. during the first Punic war, after the defeat of P. Claudius Pulcher and Junius Pullus at Drepana. Dictators had however been appointed for merely ceremonial purposes.

5 *et...nec*] notice the method of linking a positive and a negative statement.

7 § 6. *nec dictatorem...poterat*] These words should probably be omitted. Weissenborn and Wölflin however retain them, reading *praetor* for *populo*. The letters *pr.* (*praetor*) are often confused with *p.r.* (*populus Romanus*). That the praetor could not choose a dictator is certain, though he may have presided at the election when a dictator was elected by the people.

*dictatorem*] Vulg. *prodictatorem*. Cf. 31. 11. But Livy is here



probably following the writers whom he criticizes there. For he uses *dictator* again 9. 7. Further, it appears from *C. I. L.* I. 228. 435 that Fabius' title actually was Dictator.

- 10 *Maximum*] Livy IX. 46. 13 says Fabius' grandfather received this cognomen for his services, *Pol.* III. 83. 6 that Fabius acquired it himself.

13 § 7. *pontes*] probably the bridges over the Nar, Tiber, and Anio.

- 14 *dimicandum esse*] governed by a verb of saying suggested by *negotium datum*.

*quando*] = *quandoquidem*, frequent in Livy.

## CHAPTER IX.

- 15 § 1. *Umbriam*] Hannibal must have passed Perusia and crossed the Tiber, the boundary between Etruria and Umbria. To reach Spole-  
tium he would follow the course of the Tinia, which flows into the Tiber from the S. W.

*Spoletium*] (*Spoletto*) a Latin colony.

- 18 § 2. *repulsus*] This unsuccessful attack is not mentioned by Poly-  
bius; probably the inhabitants did no more than close their gates. Arnold III. 94. In the guildhall of Spoleto however is a mutilated in-  
scription: *Populus signa vocit...tribusque dedicavit...quum Annibal*  
*L. Carsulio... C.*

- 19 *haud nimis prospere*] The readings of P, C, M, *minue*, *minu'*, *minus*,  
seem to point to *minus*. *nimis* is given in later MSS. Madvig objects  
to the litotes 'none too prosperously' as pointless, and reads *haud maxi-*  
*mae minime prospere temptatae*.

- 20 *moles*] in its metaphorical sense, 'difficulty', i. e. of besieging. XXI.  
27. 5 *Hispani sine ulla mole...tranavere*, cf. XXI. 41. 3. W. quotes  
*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*.

- § 3. *agrum Picenum*] the adj. is generally *Picens*, *Picenum* being  
used as a substantive. Hannibal thus struck right across Italy to the E.  
22 *praeda*] cf. Silius, *Pun.* VI. 647 *tum Palladios se fundit in agros*,  
*Picenum dives praedae*.

*effuse*] 'without restraint' = *effrenate*, 3. 9.

- 23 *rapiebant*] Polybius says Hannibal commanded his troops to kill  
all males of serviceable age whom they met on the march (*φονεύειν τοὺς*  
*ὑποπίπτοντας τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις* III. 86. 1). This is improbable, as it  
would have deterred the Italians from joining Hannibal, cf. 7, 5 note.  
Perhaps however the statement refers only to the Roman owners of

domain land, and settlers, of which latter there would have been many in consequence of the law of Flaminius in 232 B.C.

§ 4. *ibi*] near the coast. Pol. III. 88. 1 ἐνδιέτριβε τῇ παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν χώρα. For hence he sent messengers by sea to Carthage with news of his achievement, which was received with exultation, *ibid.* 87. 4.

*stativa*] *castra*, 'a fixed camp'. Pol. further mentions that Hannibal now armed the African infantry with the short swords and large shields of the Roman legionaries (III. 87. 3), many of which had been taken from the enemy.

25 *ad*] the force of the preposition is exactly given by 'as regards'.

*adfectus*] 'exhausted', 8. 3 *in adfecto corpore*, note. Both horses and men suffered from a kind of skin disease (called by Pol. λιμόψωπος) perhaps scurvy, to cure which Hannibal had the former washed in the old wines of the country (*ib.* 88. 1).

26 § 5. *praeda...gaudentibus*] governed by *datum*. The words imply that a short rest was sufficient.

27 *Prædutianum Hadrianumque agrum*] both in the S. of Picenum. Prædutia was on the Balinus N. W. of Hadria. Hadria was a Roman burgess colony, founded 289 B.C., and situated, as before the Second Punic war the Roman burgess colonies always were, on the sea.

28 *Marsos Marrucinos Paelignos*] These were all Sabellian peoples; but while the Marrucini lived near the sea on the lower Aternus, the Marsi and Paeligni dwelt farther inland, the Marsi round the lake Fucinus, the Paeligni about Sulmo and Corfinium. It is more likely that Hannibal followed the coast road, and Polybius is probably right in mentioning the Frentani (III. 88. 4) instead of the Marsi and Marrucini. The Frentani inhabited the coast between Picenum and Apulia.

29 *devastat*] the word applies of course to the territories of the peoples mentioned.

*circa*] = *quæ erant circa*. 7. 11 *deinceps diebus*.

*Arpos*] in the N. of Apulia. Polybius III. 88. 6 says the place where he was actually encamped was Vibinum, which was some way to the S.W.

*Luceriam*] due W. of Arpi. It was made into a Latin colony 314 B.C. during the second Samnite war.

*Apuliae*] governed by *regionem*.

30 § 6. *Servilius*] see on 8. 1, 3. 8. Polybius does not mention these engagements.

31 *ignobilis*] 'inconsiderable', cf. 7. 1 *nobilis*.

- p. 12. 1 *moenibus metuens*] 'fearing for the walls'. Verg. *G.* 1. 86 *inopi metuens formica senectae*. Contrast with this the meaning of *metuens* with gen. 3. 4.
- 4 § 7. *Fabius*] Polybius, a philosopher and freethinker, alludes to these ceremonies briefly. Φάβιος μετὰ τὴν κατάστασιν θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς. *iterum*] he had been *dictator comitiorum habendorum causa* before, in 221 B.C., as had others, though there had been no *dictator rei gerendae causa* for 32 years, see on 8. 5.
- 7 *inscitia*] ignorance of tactics, 'bad generalship'.
- 9 § 8. *non ferme*] 'hardly ever'. *tactra*] 'dreadful'. Cf. *foede* 3. 1.
- 10 *libros Sibyllinos*] see on 1. 16.
- 12 § 9. *foret*] used by Livy as a mere synonym for *esset*; in other classical writers only where it represents *ero* in or. recta, or expresses an unfulfilled condition. Cicero and Caesar avoid *forem* altogether.
- 13 § 10. *ludos magnos*] also called *Maximi*, *Circenses*, and *Romani*. Instituted by Tarquinius Priscus; they were celebrated in honour of the *di magni*, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The games consisted of athletic contests and chariot races. They lasted originally for one day but eventually for six.
- 14 *Veneri Erucinae*] so called from her famous temple on Mt Eryx in Sicily. The adjective is used as a name of the goddess, Hor. *Carm.* 1. 2. 33 *sive tu mavis Erycina ridens*. *Menti*] Ov. *Fasti*, VI. 241 *Menti delubra videmus vota metu belli perfide Poene tui*.
- 15 *supplicationem lectisterniumque*] see on 1. 15 and 18. *ver sacrum*] What this was is explained in 10. 3 sqq. It was an old Sabellian custom. In early times the children born during the appointed time were also dedicated to the gods. Originally they were sacrificed. Later they forfeited their citizenship, and were obliged to leave their native place on reaching manhood. It was in this fashion that the Sabellian race spread over the centre of the peninsula.
- 19 § 11. *pontifices*] these, since the *Lex Ogulnia*, 300 B.C., eight in number, had the control of religious affairs in general at Rome.

## CHAPTER X.

- 24 § 2. *in haec verba*] 'after', or as we should say, 'in this form'; cf. *in hunc modum*.
- 25 *velitis iubeatis*] 'Is it your will and pleasure?' XXI. 17. 4 *latum inde ad populum vellent inberent...bellum indici*. An asyndeton of this

kind is archaic. Hence it often occurs in legal and religious language, e.g. *sarta tecta, Jupiter optimus maximus*.

- 26 *Quiritium*] a genitive of that in which the thing consists, Roby § 1302. The whole expression means the Roman nation, as opposed to other nations, consisting of the burgesses, as opposed to other classes of the community. *Quirites* has been derived from Cures a Sabine town, L. I. 13. 5; and it has been thought that *Quirites, Quirinalis* etc. are words indicative of a Sabine element in the nation. A more probable derivation is *quiris* a spear. Cf. the connexion between Sabini (Safini) and Σάβιων, a javelin.

27 *duellis*] an old form of *bellum* surviving in *perduellis*.

29 *tum*] commences the apodosis.

30 *duit*] = *det*, archaic. Cf. *creduis, perduint*, common in Plautus.

31 § 3. *quaeque profana erunt*] the clause contains a reservation = 'provided they be not already consecrated'. One would have expected *quodque profanum erit*, as the clause corresponds to *quod ver adtulerit*; but as it occurs after the enumeration of the different kinds of victims the plural is substituted.

p. 13. 1 *Iovi fieri*] = *sacrificari*. Cic. *Att.* I. 13. 3 *cum pro populo fieret*. Cf. *faciet* in the next section. The infinitive is added to explain *donum duit*, the meaning being *ut sacrificentur*. Livy would not use such a construction himself. He is quoting from the *Annales pontificum*.

*ex qua die...iusserit*] 'on and after the day appointed'. The vow was not always carried out immediately; in this case not till the year 195 B.C. (C.).

2 § 4. *faciet*] *facere*: to sacrifice. Cf. Gk. *πέζειν*. Verg. *E.* III. 77 *cum faciam vitulo pro frugibus*.

*lege*] = *modo*.

*quo*] = *quocunque*.

3 *faxit*] fut. perf. *facio*, an old future formed by adding *so* to the stem. I. 18. 9 *adclarassis*, ib. 24. 8 *defexit*, cf. *clepsit* below.

*probe*] 'duly'.

4 § 5 *profanum*] 'it is to be regarded as never having been consecrated'.

*rumpet*] 'injure'. *rumpere* was frequently used in early Latin = *corrumperere*. C.

5 *fraus*] = *damnum*, 'let him not suffer for it'. *Si plus minusve secuerunt se (sine) fraude esto*, XII. Tabb.

*clepsit...cleptum erit*] fut. perf. act. and pass. of the archaistic *clepere*, which belongs to the same root as κλέπτειν.

*scelus*] 'guilt'.

6 *cur*] dat. incommodi.

§ 6. *atro die*] 'an evil day'. A day on which no sacrifices could be offered. Such were the days after the Kalends, Nones and Ides (VI. 1. 12) and the anniversaries of great national disasters, such as the defeat on the Allia.

8 *antidea*] archaistic for *antea* as *antidhac* for *antehac*. Other prepositions have lost a final *d*, which sometimes survives in composition. Cf. *re, se* (in *semovere, discernere*) with *red- itio, sed- itio*.

*ac*] = *quam*.

9 *faxitur*] fut. pass. = *factum erit*. Cf. *inussitur*, Cic. *Leg. Agr.* v. 71: *turbassitur, de leg.* III. 4, both in citations from laws.

*eo*] governed by *solutus*, 'therefrom': i. e. the sacrifice, or rather the obligation to offer it.

10 § 7. *ludi magni*] see on 9. 10.

*aeris*] i. e. *assium*. The *as*, which before 269 B.C. weighed nominally 12 oz. (really 10) and was worth 2½*d.*, was now, in 217 B.C., depreciated to ⅙ of its original weight and value. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII. 45 *Q. Fabio Maximo dictatore asses unciales facti*; but for religious purposes the old system was long adhered to. *Aeris* here then means *libral asses* (*aes grave*). As they were no longer struck they were represented by an equivalent in the silver coinage, the sestertius (= 2⅓*d.*).

11 *Iovi*] *fieri votum est* must be understood.

*trecentis*] Odd numbers in general were supposed to be pleasing to the gods (*numero deus inpare gaudet*), and three in particular was a sacred number.

13 § 8. *supplicatio*] see on 1. 15.

15 *quos in aliqua...cura*] 'who as they were pretty well off themselves, took some thought for the country as well'. People, that is, who had 'a stake in the country'. *publica* = *reipublicae*.

17 § 9. *decemviris sacrorum*] the same as the custodians of the Sibylline books, 9. 8.

*pulvinaria*] cushioned couches, on which the images of the gods were placed, on the occasion of a *lectisternium*.

21 § 10. *acdes*] the temples mentioned in 9. 10.

## CHAPTER XI.

25 § 1. *deque re publica rettulit*] cf. 1. 5.

29 § 2. *scriberet*] = *conscriberet*.

p. 14. 1 § 3. *duas legiones*] Polybius III. 88. 7 says Fabius 'started from the city with the *four* legions that had been enrolled'. But Fabius had only four legions in Apulia (27. 10) after he had received two from Servilius. Probably two of the newly enrolled legions were left at Rome. These legions were used to man the fleet sent out under Servilius, and replaced by extraordinary levies. §§ 7—9.

3 *Tibur...edixit*] *edixit* governs *diem ad conveniendum* directly. Tibur, the name of the place where they were to meet, is added, governed by *conveniendum*.

4 § 4. *ut quibus...nti*] The repetition of *ut* occurs several times in Livy, generally in statements of a formal character; in a proclamation, as here; a prayer (v. 21. 5); or a decree of the senate (XXXVII. 50. 6). [These and other reff. are given by W.]

*castella*] places smaller than *oppida*, like the *fora* and *conciliabula* often mentioned, 'stations'. *castellum* comes from the same root as *castrum* and *casa*, the meaning of which is, 'to cover'.

*immunita*] adj.=*non munita*. *immunire*, Tac. A. XI. 19='to fortify'.

6 *regionis*] with *omnes*, 'all belonging to that region'.

8 § 5. *via Flaminia*] Servilius was advancing from the North along the same road. Made by Flaminius in his censorship in 220 B.C. the *via Flaminia* was the main connection between Rome and the N.E. of Italy. It ran through Etruria to Oriculum, thence through Umbria to Ariminum.

*exercitu*] dat. 2. 1 *dilectu*.

9 *Oriculum*] the most southern town in Umbria, on the Tiber a few miles below its junction with the Nar at Interamna. Consistently with this Polybius says III. 88. 8 *συμμύξας ταῖς ἀπ' Ἀρμυλίου βοηθοῦσαι δυνάμεισι περὶ τὴν Ναυπλῶν* (an almost certain emendation, adopted in the Teubner text, for the MSS. *Δαυπλῶν*).

*prospexisset*] 'saw in the distance'.

10 *viatorem*] 'an apparitor'. In later times the civil magistrates only (those with *potestas*) had *viatores*, the military magistrates (those with *imperium*) *lictores*. But Livy mentions the *viatores* of the consuls VI. 15.

12 § 6. *ingentem*] part of the predicate, 'impressive'.

13 *vetustate*] ablative of cause. For the fact see on 8. 5.

15 *Ostia*] generally declined as a neut. plur. of the 2nd declension.

16 *portum Cosanum*] Cosa, a harbour on the Etrurian coast, where the Mons Argentarius forms a bay, since closed up. The fleet had

probably intended to coast along by Cosa, Pisa, and Massilia to Emporiae, which, along with Tarraco, the Romans used as their harbour in Spain.

19 § 7. *milite*] what soldiers? see on § 3.

*navalibus sociis*] seamen, as opposed to *classici* (here *miles*) the marines. They were so called because, originally, the fleet being of small account, only allies were employed in this capacity.

21 § 8. *libertini*] This was quite exceptional. Not till the time of Marius, during the social war, 89 B.C., when military service had ceased to be regarded as a privilege, were emancipated slaves and their children employed in this capacity.

*quibus...essent*] 'such of them as had children'. A subjunctive of indefiniteness. Here the person is indefinite. The *libertini* with children took precedence of the others by virtue of their children, because the latter were *ingenui* sons of free men.

*aetas militaris*] between 17 and 46.

23 § 9. *alii*]=*ceteri*. This incorrect use of *alius*=ὁ ἄλλος is rare in writers of the best period, but occurs not unfrequently in Livy and the writers who succeed him.

## CHAPTER XII.

26 § 1. *Tibur*] he went along the *Via Valeria*, which runs in an easterly direction from Rome.

*quo] conveniendum* governs *quo* as it does *Tibur* in 11. 3. *edixerat* governs *diem*.

28 § 2. *Praeneste*] i.e. to the S.E. of *Tibur*. It was on a hill 18 miles from Rome, at the extremity of the *via Praenestina*, which lay between the *via Valeria* and the *via Latina*.

*transversis limitibus*] 'cross-paths'. *limes* (which=*lic-mes* and belongs to the same root as *limen*, *limus*, *obliquus*) means properly a line drawn across, a line; whether it be a boundary line (*partiri limite campum* Verg. *G.* 1. 126); a line of fortifications (*limite acto promotisque praesidiis* Tac. *Germ.* 29); or the line of a road or path, as here. Cf. 15. 11 *Appiae limite*.

30 *exploratis*] a contrast to *Flaminius*. Cf. *inexplorato* 4. 4.

*ducit*] sc. *exercitum*, 'marches'. Cf. *movit* 1. 2, and note.

*nullo...commissurus*] 'not intending to trust himself'.

31 *cogeret*] the subjunctive, because the occasion is indefinite. See on *essent* 11. 8, 'Except in so far as he was compelled at any time by necessity'.



p. 15. 1 § 3. *quo primum die*] 'immediately on the day', i.e. 'on the very first day'.

*haud procul Arpis*] Hannibal was already in the neighbourhood,

9. 5. Polybius III. 88. 9 says Fabius encamped near Aecae, *περι τὰς Αἰκας καλουμένας*, which lay S.W. of Arpi, while Hannibal was at Vibinum, due S. of Aecae. See on 9. 5.

2 *nulla mora facta, quin educeret*] we should say 'Hannibal lost no time...in marching out'. For *mora quin* cf. XXI. 50. 11 *nihil cunctandum visum quin...peteret*.

3 *Poenus*] the Carthaginian general.

5 § 4. *quidem*] concessive. Although he taunted them he still returned.

*illos*] Haupt's correction for *quos* P, for which *suos* has been read.

Cf. *sua vitia* 3. 5.

*Martios*] in allusion to Mars being their national god. XXXVIII. 17.

18 *vobis...Martii viris*, 'sons of Mars'.

6 *concessum de virtute*] 'they had yielded in the contest of valour'. Cic. *Att.* XII. 47. 2 *de cupiditate nemini concedam*.

7 § 5. *tacita cura*] Livy imputes such a feeling to Hannibal in order to glorify Fabius. So in Silius Italicus he complains to his brother, on a later occasion, *Fabius me noctibus aegris, in curas Fabius nos excitat*. *Pun.* VII. 305. Polybius says simply *χρόνον δέ τινα μέινας, οὐδενὸς ἐπεξιώντος αὐθις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρεμβολὴν* (camp), III. 89. 1.

8 *Flamini Sempronique*] *P. Flaminio Sempronioque*. *similis* with the dat. implies similarity of appearance, with the gen. similarity of nature.

12 § 6. *haudum*] = *nondum*, a combination found in Livy alone.

13 *in oculis*] 'before his eyes'.

*agros sociorum*] with Flaminius the same tactics had been but too successful, 3. 7. Livy, doubtless following Fabius Pictor, is careful to point the contrast between the aristocratic and the popular general.

15 § 7. *sī*] = *εἰ πως*, 'in hopes that'.

16 *occultus*] cf. 7. 13 *maestam sedentem*.

17 § 8. *ut neque omitteret*] 'neither losing touch of him nor' etc. For the use of *ut* cf. 5. 7 note.

19 *cogerent*] cf. *cogeret* § 2 note.

*fabulum petebant*] Polybius says more than this: *οὐδέποτε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤφλει προνομεῖν, οὐδὲ χωρίζεσθαι καθάπαξ ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος*, 'he never allowed his soldiers to forage, nor to leave the entrenchments at all'. III. 90. 2.

21 § 9. *statio*] 'a picket'.

22 *infesta*] 'dangerous'. The word is often used in a passive sense. It is in form a passive participle (*in-fendo*).

*effusus*] 'scattered'. More literal than in 3. 9 and 9. 3.

24 § 10. *parva momenta levium certaminum*] lit. 'small results of petty conflicts'. *momentum* (*movimentum*)=the impulse which turns the scale. Greek  $\rho\omicron\tau\eta$ . Cf. Lucan's *momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum*. XXI. 4. 2, 43. 11. We should say 'small and unimportant conflicts'.

*ex tuto*] 'safely'. 15. 5.

26 *minus paenitere*] i.e. 'and have more confidence in'. Lit. 'and be less dissatisfied with', a meaning often borne by *paenitere*. Cic. *off.* 1. 1. 2 *tam diu velle debetis (discere) quoad te quantum proficias non paeniteat*, 'as long as you are not dissatisfied with your progress'.

27 *paenitere*] is not used personally by the best writers, though the gerund is sometimes found. Madvig, *Lat. Gr.*, 218. 3.

§ 11. *non magis quam*] 'not more...than': here='not so much...as'. So  $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \eta$  is often used in Greek.

29 *imperio*] ablative of respect. As master of the horse he was of course Fabius' subordinate.

*morae*] i.e. *morae esse*. *morae* is a predicative dative. The construction and the use of *morae ad* are both the same as in XXI. 45. 9 *id morae, quod nondum fugnarent, ad potianda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt*.

31 § 12. *in vulgus*] 'with a view to', i.e. for the benefit of, 'the common soldiers', 3. 14 note.

p. 16. 1 *adfingens*] 'fastening on him'.

2 *premiendo*] = *deprimendo*, 'depreciating him'. Pol. III. 90. 6  $\tau\omicron\nu\nu\ \Phi\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , 'he talked against Fabius to everybody'.

### CHAPTER XIII.

5 § 1. *ex Hirpinis in Samnium*] Livy does not mention Hannibal's entry into the territory of the Hirpini. We heard of him last as being in the neighbourhood of Arpi 12. 3, and according to Polybius (see note on 12. 3) encamped at Vibinum. These places are in Apulia.

The Hirpini were properly Samnites like the Caraceni, Pentri and Caudini; but the Romans, in pursuance of their policy of *divide et impera*, had separated the Ager Hirpinus from the rest of Samnium. The part of Samnium entered was the territory of the Caudini, in which Beneventum and Telesia were situated.

*Beneventanum agrum*] Beneventum was situated on the Calor, and on the Appian way, which now extended from Rome to Venusia. It was a Roman Colony, founded 268 B.C., and fortified; hence Hannibal did not attempt to take it.

6 *Telesiam*] the birthplace of Pontius the hero of the Second Samnite war. It was now unfortified, but full of all sorts of stores. Pol. III. 90. 9. Its position was a little N. of Beneventum, in the valley of the Calor.

7 *si forte*] εἰ πως. Cf. *si* 12. 7.

9 *acquum*] 'in the plain'. *Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat* 12. 8.

11 § 2. *dimissi*] cf. 7. 5.

12 *Campani equites*] The *equites* were the aristocracy of Campania, to whom the Romans had given special privileges because they did not join in the Latin war. They had the *civitas* and were allowed to exact 450 denarii a year each (they were 1600 in number when this privilege was given them, 339 B.C.) from the rest of the Campanian people. Livy VIII. 11. 5.

13 *iam tum*] at the time of their release.

16 § 3. *Capuae potiendae*] *potior* with acc. is mostly ante- and post-classical. Not in Cicero. XXI. 45. 9 *ad potienda sperata*.

*maior quam auctores*] lit. 'greater than its authors'. The meaning is 'too important to be undertaken on their authority alone'.

17 *dubium*] the causal clause *cum res maior esset* explains *dubium* and not *moverunt*. See Introd. II.

*alternis*] adverbial, 'alternately'.

18 *moverunt*] Polybius says nothing of the Campanian knights. He describes Hannibal's motives thus: 'He was persuaded that he would either compel the enemy to fight, or make it clear to all that he was master of the situation, and so the allies would hasten to revolt from Rome'. III. 90. 11.

19 § 4. *etiam atque etiam*] with *promissa*, 'which they had promised over and over again'. 42. 4 *Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum*.

Madvig thinks *etiam atque etiam* belong to *monitos*, and reads *monitos etiam atque etiam ut*. The sense is better, but the change hardly necessary. Madvig seems to think the words must belong either to *monitos* or *adfirmarent*, while there is no reason why they should not go with *promissa*. Wlf. brackets *ut*.

*rebus*] 'deeds'. Often opposed to *verba* and the like: e.g. XXI. 42. 1 *Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus*.

20 *aliquibus*] *aliquis* is more usual.

*principum*] not technical, 'leading men'.

21 § 5. *agrum Casinatem*] It is probable that Livy has made a mistake here, and that Hannibal had all along intended to go to Casilinum, not Casinum. Casinum was in Latium, whereas H. intended to march into Campania. See § 3 fin. and Pol. III. 90. 10 ὥρμησε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ Καπύην πέδια. Casinum was on the Latin road only, and therefore not so good a position for preventing the Romans from bringing help to their allies (see this section) as Casilinum, which was at the point where the Latin and the Appian ways meet. If Casinum was the place to which H. intended to go, and the guide's mistake consisted in thinking that Casilinum was the object of the march, the latter would never have ascended the Volturnus from its junction with the Calor, which was well on the way to Casinum, nor reached Casilinum by so roundabout a route as that by Cales.

No; the case was probably this. Hannibal wished to go to Casilinum; but the guide thought he said Casinum. Accordingly he ascended the Volturnus as far as Allifae. But when H. found that he was still under the mountains of Samnium his suspicions were aroused. The mistake was discovered, and the army turning S. proceeded to its original destination. See Neumann, *Pun. Krieg.* 344. The story is indeed unlikely. Ihne condemns it as a camp anecdote; but this is the only form in which it could have gained currency.

24 § 6. *Punicum...os*] The meaning is that Hannibal, or whoever instructed the guide, could not pronounce the name of the town distinctly, and so the latter misunderstood him. Plut. *Fabius* 6 (οἱ ὁδηγοὶ) τῆς φωνῆς διὰ βαρβαρισμὸν οὐκ ἐξακούσαντες.

*abhorrens*] 'ill adapted to'.

26 *suo itinere*] 'his route', i.e. the route which he should have followed.

*Callifanum Allifanumque et Calenum agrum*] *Callifanum* is Madvig's correction for *Calatinum*. If H. came by Cales he did not come by Calatia, for the two towns are on different passes. The site of Callifae is not known, but it was probably near Allifae, as it is mentioned in conjunction with it VIII. 25. 4. It has been identified with the modern village of Calvisi, five miles E. of Allifae. *Dict. Geogr.*

Allifae in Samnium on the Volturnus, Cales in Campania S.W. of Allifae, at the foot of the group of hills which continue the chain of the Mons Massicus to the Volturnus. It was a Latin colony, founded 331 B.C.

According to this account H. seems to have entered Campania by

the depression between Teanum to the W. and Cales to the E. Polybius' account is different. Cf. Appendix III.

- 27 *campum Stellatam*] Pol. III. 90. 10 εἰς τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Φάλερνον τόπον. Livy is probably the more accurate; for while the ager Falernus forms the larger part of the plain N. of the Vulturñus, the ager or campus Stellatis, the eastern part of the plain, lies between Cales and Casilinum.

§ 7. *montibus fluminibusque*] The Stellatian plain is bounded by the Vulturñus, the Piana, and the hills between Cales and the Vulturñus. The words are more applicable to the whole Campanian plain of which Polybius III. 91. 8 uses similar language. Plut. *Fabius* 6 χώρα περιστεφῆς ὄρεσιν (W.).

- 28 *circumspexisset*] 'looked round upon'. *circumspicere* generally means 'to look round anxiously for'. 15. 2 *locum castris circumspicere*. 29. 3 *fugam circumspicere*.  
29 *ubi terrarum*] the addition of *terrarum*, a gen. of the 'divided whole' (Roby § 1296), gives a meaning of vagueness, 'where in the world'.

§ 8. *cum...tum demum*] 'not until'. German *erst als*.

- 30 *mansurum*] *manere* is often used in conversational language for 'to pass the night'. Hor. S. I. 5. 87 *mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est*. Hence *mansiones*='stations' or 'night quarters for travellers'.  
31 *longe*] belongs both to *inde* and *alia* 'far from there in quite another quarter'.

*Casinum...esse*] governed by *cognitus est*.

- p. 17. 1 § 9. *que*] 'and so', cf. 1. 3 *petitusque*.

2 *Maharóalem*] cf. 6. 11.

3 *agrum Falernum*] i.e. into the broader part of the plain, away to the S.W. See on *campum Stellatam* § 6.

3 § 10. *aquas Sinuessanas*] 'the baths of Sinuessa'. *aquae* is common in this sense. Cf. *Aquae Sextiae*, now pleonastically called *Aix les bains*. Sinuessa (Mondragone), in the immediate neighbourhood of the baths, was situated on the coast where the Mons Massicus slopes down to the sea, and at the boundary of Campania. It was a Roman colony founded during the 3rd Samnite war 295 B.C., cf. 14. 5.

6 § 11. *videlicet quia*] there is no irony, 'doubtless because'.

7 *iusto et moderato imperio*] Similarly Polybius III. 90. 14 ἐξ ὧν καὶ παρασημαίνει' ἂν τις τὴν κατάπληξιν καὶ καταξίωσιν τοῦ Ῥωμαίου πολιτεύματος, 'From this fact we may infer in what awe and respect the Roman commonwealth was held'.

## CHAPTER XIV.

- 9 § 1. *ut vero*] does not open the sentence quite appropriately. One would have expected it to introduce a modification or intensification of the last statement; but the last statement referred to the allies at large, while the sentence which follows describes the discontent of the army.

*ad Volturnum*] in the campus Stellatis close to Casilinum. Hannibal's camp is meant.

- 10 *amoenissimus Italiae ager*] Campania was the garden of Italy. Strabo calls it *πέδιον εὐδαιμονέστατον τῶν πάντων*. Its volcanic soil was suited to grape culture, and the finest Italian wines, the Falernian and the Massic, were here grown. The Ager Campanus was during a long period of Roman history the principal source whence Rome drew her supplies of corn. Cic. *de Leg. Agr.* i. 7 calls it *fundum pulcherrium populi Romani, caput pecuniae...horreum legionum, solatium annonae*. *Dict. Geogr.*

- 12 *Massici montis*] the range of hills forming the limit between Latium and Campania. It was famous for its vines. Verg. *G.* II. 143 *Bacchi Massicus humor*. Hor. *C.* II. 7. 21 *oblivioso levia Massico ciboria exple*.

*Fabio*] he had followed on Hannibal's track one or two day's march to the rear, Pol. III. 90. 9, and now watched his movements from the N.E., keeping open his own communications with Rome by the Latin and Appian ways. Here as in Apulia (12. 8) he remained on the high ground.

*ducente*] = *cum tamen duceret*.

*prope*] with *accensa*.

*de integro*] the reference is to the discontent of the troops in Apulia,

12. 12.

- 13 § 2. *quieverant*] the troops, as appears from the context; though one would have expected *socii*, the last persons mentioned, to have been the nominative, see on § 6.

- 14 *celerius solito*] to secure the Latin and Appian ways.

- 16 § 3. *ut vero*] introducing a climax, as often.

- 19 § 4. *spectatum...venimus*] *spectatum* is best taken as governing *caedes et incendia*; *ut...oculis* being a parenthesis.

- 20 *ut*] = *tanquam si venissemus*.

*ad rem fructandam...oculis*] the gerundive expresses an action, 'to feast our eyes on the sight'. It may indeed be used as a mere attribute, as the gerundive sometimes is, 'an enjoyable spectacle'. Then *spectatum*

would be absolute as in Hor. *A. P.* 5 *spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici*, and *caedes et incendia* would be in apposition to *rem fruendam*. But this is less likely.

21 *nec...ne quidem*] the negative is repeated in *ne*; *nec quidem* is not found.

*civium pudet*] *pudet* with gen. which = to feel shame with reference to a thing, may mean (1) to be ashamed of a thing (or person), *cicatricum et sceleris pudet*, Hor. *C.* 1. 35. 33. (2) to be ashamed in face of a thing, or when one thinks of it. That is the meaning here. Cf. III. 19. 7 *pudet hominum deorumque*, 'I am ashamed before gods and men'. Roby § 1328.

22 *colonos*] in 295 B.C. during the Third Samnite war. It was a Roman (not a Latin) colony, and, like all Roman colonies founded before the Second Punic war, on the coast.

24 § 5. *extremis...terminis*] referring perhaps to Gades, the most Western city of the ancient world, whither Hannibal went, just before starting with his army from new Carthage. XXI. 22. 5.

26 § 6. *pro*] absolute, 'alas'. It is generally used with a vocative or accusative, as in *Pro pudor*. *Pro hominum deorumque fidem*.

28 *dedecus imperii*] Philinus, a Greek historian of the Second Punic war, stated that there was actually a treaty in force before the First Punic war, forbidding the Romans to land in Sicily and the Carthaginians in Italy. Polybius denies this (III. 26. 3), but the statement bears witness to the jealousy existing between the two nations.

29 *iam factam*] not with *plenam*, 'in the possession of'. XXIV. 1. 1 *Bruttios...Carthaginiensium partis factos cernebant*. *Numidarum* is a possessive genitive like *Gallorum* § 9.

30 § 7. *modo*] rhetorically used of an event which had occurred two years before. So we might say 'only yesterday'.

*indignando*] = *indignantes*. The ablative of the gerund is often used by Livy with a sense approaching more nearly to that of the present participle, than to that of an ablative of manner or means. 3. 10 *vastandoque et urendo ad moenia Romana perveniat*. Roby § 1385.

31 *cicbamus*] 'appealed to'.

p. 18. 2 § 8. *oculos atque ora*] generally in the inverse order, 5. 4, and more correctly, as thus *atque* is explanatory, defining *ora* more closely.

3 *strepunt*] sc. 'are deafened'.

*nos*] 'while we', adversative asyndeton.

5 *aestivos saltus*] 'summer pastures'. In Italy the cattle are usually sent up to the high lands in summer.



*devius*] 'out of the way'.

- 7 § 9. *M. Furius*] Camillus who defeated the Gauls in 390 B.C.  
*nobis*] probably both, by us and for us. 'Whom we have found for ourselves'.

- 8 *unicus*] ironical, 'superlative'. Catullus in a poem containing an attack on Caesar says

*Eone nomine, imperator unice,  
 fuisti in ultima occidentis insula?* C. XXIX. 12.

*in rebus adfectis*] 'in our distress'. 8. 3 *ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido gravior sentiretur.*

- 10 § 10. *quam vereor*] = *et vereor ne eam.*

*Hannibali...servaverint*] A compendious expression, 'have saved all these times only to fall into the hands of Hannibal'.

- 11 § 11. *sed vir...Romannus*] 'but like a man and a true Roman'. Cf. Hor. *Epod.* I. 32

*haud paravero  
 quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam  
 discinctus aut perdam nepos.*

*ac*] 'and what is more', commonly subjoins something stronger or more explicit than what has preceded. It is intensive or explanatory.

- 14 *Ianiculum*] the highest of the hills at Rome, and that which Camillus returning from Veii would have reached first, as it was on the right bank of the Tiber.

*sedens*] 'sitting inactive'. Cf. *sedcamus* 3. 10.

- 16 *busta Gallica*] the place where the Gauls had their camp while besieging the Capitol in 390 B.C., was so called on account of the numbers who there died from pestilence. V. 48. 3.

*extra Gabios*] V. 49. 6 *ad octavum lapidem Gabina via.*

- 17 § 12. *Furculas Caudinas*] in 321 B.C. during the 2nd Samnite war, when the Roman army under Sp. Postumius and Titus Veturius was surprised by and surrendered to C. Pontius of Telesia, IX. 9.

- 20 *Luceriam*] see on 9. 5. It was in the attempt to relieve Luceria which was being besieged by the Samnites, that the Romans were surprised at Caudium.

*premendo obsidendoque*] 'by closely besieging'. Cf. I. 51. 3 *obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes.* IX. 15. 1 *consilium habitum omnibus ne copiis Luceriam premerent.* (D.)

- 22 § 13. *modo*] The battle was fought 24 years before. See on *modo* § 7.

*C. Lutatius*] Catulus, who defeated the Carthaginian fleet off the Ægates Insulæ (W. of Sicily) in 241 B.C., and so brought the First Punic war to a close.

25 § 14. *sedendo aut votis*] such changes of construction indicate an approximation to the style of Tacitus, between whom and Cicero Livy is a kind of middle point.

26 *votis*] has reference to the rites with which Fabius opened his campaign, 9. 7—10.

29 *timidi*] 'only cowards'.

§ 15. *velut contionanti*] declaiming as though he were addressing the assembled army (*contio*) instead of a group of officers. So XXI. 53. 6 *prope contionabundus* of Sempronius.

30 *tribunorum*] i.e. *militum*. They were legionary officers, six in each legion.

*equitum*] These, as appears from their association with *tribuni*, were persons of dignity and not mere cavalry soldiers. They belonged to the *ordo equester*, XXI. 59. 10, who rode their own horses, as opposed to the *equites equo publico*.

31 *evoluebantur*] 'found their way to', an uncommon use of the word. The preposition signifies that the words passed *out* of the smaller into a wider circle.

p. 19. 1 *haud dubie ferebant*] 'they confidently declared'. *fero* is sometimes used alone as a verb of saying as in *fertur*, *ferunt*, but more often with an adverb, cf. 29. 6 *palam ferente Hannibale se ab Fabio victum*, or an ablative as *laudibus*, *sermonibus*, *fama*.

## CHAPTER XV.

3 § 1. *pariter*] qualifies *intentus* as *iuxta* does in XXIII. 28. 3 *per dubios infestosque populos, iuxta intentus...pervenit* (Wlf.). *In suos haud minus quam in hostis* is added in explanation. W., I think wrongly, says *pariter*=*simul*, as in 4. 6.

4 *illis*] sc.  *suis*.

5 *probe*] synonymous with *satis* § 3. It is a conversational word, and so common in Plautus.

7 *tenore*] 'undeviating course', for this meaning cf. Verg. *A.* X. 340 *hasta fugit, servatque inmota tenorem*.

9 § 2. *destitutus ab spe*] lit. 'forsaken by the hope'. In this expression *ab spe* is commoner than *spe*, *spes* being regarded as an agent. In *spe lapsus* on the other hand *spe* is an ablative of respect.

- 10 *hibernis*] dat. of work contemplated. Roby § 1156.  
 11 *praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae*] gen. of description, 'furnished supplies only for the time, not all the year round'. The fruit, it is meant, would be available only in summer.  
 12 *arbusta vineaeque* etc.] These nominatives are loosely in apposition to *regio*. The meaning would have been more regularly expressed by *tota enim consita erat arbutis vineisque*. One may translate 'a region of orchards and vineyards, planted throughout with such produce as is grown for pleasure rather than such as is necessary for man's subsistence'.

*consita omnia*] Livy often uses neut. plural adjectives without a substantive, especially when the substantive left unexpressed is *loca* as here.

*magis amoenis quam necessariis*] i.e. fruit-trees rather than crops. Hence *fructibus* is used in preference to *frugibus* which is generally restricted to the produce of the fields.

- 14 § 3. *satis*] generally *satis* without a negative has a weak sense, 'tolerably': with a negative a strong sense 'quite', 4. 4. But sometimes even without a negative *satis* has a strong sense, by a kind of litotes. Thus we might say, 'Fabius knew pretty well', meaning 'knew quite well'.

*easdem angustias*] So too Polybius III. 92. 10 *κατανοῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ὅτι προχειρίζεται ποιέισθαι τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἥπερ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὴν εἰσοδόν*. But Polybius' account is consistent with his statement. He makes Hannibal enter Campania by the road along the Volturnus, and leave it by the same road; see Appendix III. Livy on the other hand having represented Hannibal as coming in from Allifae, through the territory of Cales, i.e. by the pass to the W. of the hills between Cales and Casilinum, in which Teanum stands (13. 6, note), now makes Fabius especially guard positions on the E. side of those hills, in order to prevent his egress. According to him Hannibal enters Campania by Cales and leaves it by Callicula. The fact is, Livy has translated Polybius' statement in III. 92. 10, though in his account of Hannibal's entry he has followed a wholly different account from that of Polybius.

- 15 *Calliculam montem*] probably at no great distance from Casilinum, as Fabius fortifies them both with the object of blockading the same route. It has been identified (see App. III.) with the easternmost elevation of the hills between Cales and Casilinum, separated from the rest of those hills by a depression near Bellona. The name (connected

with Callis) would seem to mean 'the mountain with the foot-path', possibly referring to the very path which Livy represents Hannibal as following in c. 17. Livy says the Roman troops occupied the Mons Callicula itself: Polybius, more accurately, the διεκβολή, i.e. the defile between the Mons Callicula and the Vulturnus. See passage quoted on *modicis* below.

- 16 *Casilinum*] on the site of the modern Capua, commanding the road along the Vulturnus to Telesia, and at the point where the Appian and Latin ways meet at the bridge over the Vulturnus.

*modicis*] sc. 'sufficient'. Pol. III. 92. 11 ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς διεκβολῆς περὶ τετρακισχιλίων ἐπέστησε.

- 17 *dirempta*] i.e. the river flowed through the town.

*Campano*] here refers particularly to the plains round Capua. On the other hand the whole country N. and S. of the Vulturnus is called Campania.

- 18 § 4. *iugis iisdem*] along the range by which he had come, and to which Callicula belonged.

*reducit*] probably to the hills above Cales (§ 10), for as he had garrisoned Casilinum to defend the road along the Vulturnus, and had blocked the Appian road at Tarracina (§ 11), and seems to have intended to shut up Hannibal in Campania (16. 5), he would hardly have left the valley between Cales and Teanum, the most obvious exit, undefended.

Polybius on the other hand, speaks of no such extensive operations for preventing Hannibal's egress. According to him, Fabius was encamped at no great distance from the troops he had placed to guard the pass (στενὰ) on the road along the Vulturnus. Pol. III. 92. 11 ἐπὶ τινι λόφον ὑπερδέξιον πρὸ τῶν στενῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε, and it is possible that Livy's statement (in § 11) may mean that the guard which had been placed at Tarracina was now withdrawn in consequence of Fabius' information (§ 4) as to Hannibal's movements; while *inclusus* 16. 4, should not be taken in too strict a sense. But on the whole it appears that Livy does mean that Fabius blocked all the passes out of Campania, while Polybius only mentions his blocking the particular pass by which Hannibal was expected to escape.

- 19 § 5. *ex turba iuvenum*] the clause describes *qui*, and is inserted to explain Mancinus' subsequent action. W. compares the omission of *vir* in 60. 5 *Torquatus priscæ severitatis*. But Cicero or Caesar would have written *qui cum esset ex turba*. Livy's expression here is parallel with *pugna ad Trasumennum* (sc. *commissa*) 7. 1, *omnia circa vir-*

*gulta* 17. 3. He is almost forced to it here by the want of a pres. participle=*ŏv*.

20 *audientium*] = *qui audiebant*. *saepe* with *audientium*.

21 *ex tuto*] cf. 12. 10.

23 *per occasionem*] 'opportunity offering', *per* expressing the circumstances.

24 § 6. *occupatus certamine est animus*] 'his mind was seized with a desire for battle'. The change of nom. (cf. 1. 3) is not to be imitated.

*exciderunt*] sc. *animo* which is not expressed as *animus* has just preceded.

27 § 7. *alii atque alii*] i.e. 'by relays'. The meaning of the passage is that the movements of advance and retreat alternated, and that these movements were made not by the whole body simultaneously, but by different sections in turn.

29 § 8. *Carthalo*] we find Carthalo at the head of some Carthaginian cavalry at Cannae 49. 13. He is sent with the Roman prisoners to the Capital to treat if occasion offers, 58. 7, where he is described as *nobilis Carthaginiensis*.

31 *avertisset*] 'put to flight'. 19. 11 *in fugam averterunt*.

p. 20. 3 § 9. *in proelium rediit*] 'returned and gave battle'. *in* = 'with a view to', and is not merely local, for there had been no fighting as yet between Mancinus and Carthalo.

*omni parte virium*] if *omni parte* = 'in every division' the expression is inaccurate, for Mancinus had only cavalry. More probably the whole expression means no more than 'in all respects'. The Roman cavalry was neither so numerous, nor so skilful, nor so fresh (§ 7) as the Carthaginian.

4 § 10. *delecti equitum*] gen. of divided whole, Roby § 1292. So *circumfusus militum* 30. 2.

6 *dictatorem*] probably on the hills above Cales or Teanum guarding the exit by the valley of the Savo. See on § 4.

8 § 11. *saltum*] the defile of Lautulae on the Appian road in S. Latium, an important strategical position.

*Tarracinam*] on the coast near the southern extremity of the Pomptine marshes. Its Volscian name was Anxur. Hor. S. 1. 5. 26 *impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur*.

9 *coactus*] 'narrowing'.

*ab Sinnessa*] A writer of the best period would have omitted *ab*. Sinnessa was as yet the extreme limit of the Carthaginian ravages.

Fabius feared that it might be the starting-point of a further movement North.

*Appiae limite*] the line of the Appian road, see on *limitibus* 12. 12.

- 11 § 12. *viam*] what road? When last mentioned Fabius was on the Mons Massicus, or the hills above Cales. See on §§ 4, 10. *Via* may then be the road between Cales and Casilinum, to which Fabius now descended in order to be nearer to the 4000 men who were occupying Callicula and at the same time to prevent Hannibal from escaping by the depression between Cales and Teanum (Voigt, *Berlin Philolog. Wochenschrift*). But it is not certain whether Livy is still following the authorities from whom he gets the account of the wider scheme of operations which consisted in blocking all the passes out of N. Campania, or Polybius, whom he certainly follows in the narrative of the stratagem, and who refers to the blocking of one pass only, on the road along the Volturnus from Casilinum to Telesia.

On the whole it seems likely that he is referring to the same movement as Polybius in III. 92. 11 ἐπὶ τινὰ λόφον ὑπερδέξιον (favourable) πρὸ τῶν στενῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε. By στενὰ Polybius means the defile on the road along the Volturnus (Appendix III. B). Livy probably means by *via* the road to Callicula, for he apparently knows nothing of the river road, as appears from 16. 5. In any case Fabius on being joined by Minucius marched some way to the E. towards the Volturnus.

*deferunt*] from the mountains, to which Fabius had hitherto clung.

14. 9, 15. 4.

- 12 *ducturus*] *exercitum* is omitted. Cf. *movit* 1. 1 and note.

## CHAPTER XVI.

- 14 § 2. *sub ipso*] 'close under'. *ad ipsa castra* 15. 7.

- 15 *acquiore*] 'more favourable'. Although the Romans had descended from the mountains they were still on higher ground than the Carthaginians as appears from *successit*, and λόφον in Polybius quoted on 15. 4.

- 16 *expeditis*] usually with a substantive, as *milites* or *pedites*.

- 17 *carptim*] *carpere*, 'to pluck'. The adv. may get its meaning either (1) from the pass. of *carpere* and so = 'in detachments'. (Cf. XXVI. 28. 2 *in multas parvasque partes carpere exercitum*.) So *divisis carptim agris*, Suet. *Dom.* 9, 'in small portions'; or (2), from the act. of *carpere*. *carpentes agmen* 32. 2 = 'plucking at', hence 'assailing constantly' or

'at different points', 'harassing'. Thus *carptim* here and XLIV. 41. 7 *carptim aggrediendo* may = 'repeatedly' or 'at different points'. The word may have one of these meanings, not more than one, as W. would imply, explaining *carptim aggrediendo* as indicating constant attacks in separate detachments.

20 § 3. *ex dictatoris voluntate*] a predicate, like *lenta*.

*ab*] local, 'on the side of'. Cf. the phrase *stare ab aliquo*.

22 § 4. *inclusus*] cf. 15. 3, 4, and 11, notes. Polybius only mentions the blocking of a single pass, that on the road up the Vulturnus.

*via ad Casilinum obsessa*] 'the road (to the S.) being blocked at Casilinum', i.e. by the garrison there, 15. 3. The meaning is not 'the road to Casilinum', for what would it profit Hannibal if the road to Casilinum were open, while Casilinum itself was garrisoned?

23 *tantum...sociorum*] A picturesque expression for *tot socii*. Cf. Catullus III. 2 *quantum est hominum venustiorum*, for *homines venustiores quot estis*.

24 *Poenus*] 'while the Carthaginians'. Adversative asyndeton, 14. 8 *nos*.

*Formiana saxa*] Formiae was on the Appian road, in Latium, but not so far North as Tarracina 15. 11. Tradition said it was founded by the Laestrygones.

25 *Literni*] on the marshy coast of Campania between the mouth of the Vulturnus and Cumae. Silius, *Pun.* VII. 275

*hinc Laestrygoniae saxoso monte premebant  
a tergo rupes, undosis squalida terris  
hinc Literna palus.*

The mention of Liternum is not quite accurate as in consequence of the occupation of Casilinum, Hannibal would have to remain N. of the Vulturnus.

*horridas silvas*] Livy is thinking of the *Gallinaria siiva* near Cumae which in the time of the empire was dangerous, being infested by brigands. Wlf.

27 § 5. *per Casilinum*] to the S. See on *via ad Casilinum obsessa*.

28 *iugum Calliculae*] further defining *montes*. It was probably the lowest part of the Mons Callicula, 15. 3, where it could be surmounted. Pol. ὑπερβολή. Voigt has identified it with the depression at Bellona some distance W. of the Vulturnus.

*necubi*] = *ne alicubi*, 2. 3.

*Romanus*] The troops guarding Callicula 15. 3. *necubi...adgre-*



*daretur* refers to Hannibal's apprehensions of being attacked while crossing the mountains, not while he remained shut up in Campania.

- 29 *inclusum vallibus*] 'when he should be penned in the defile'. The plural is inaccurate, Hannibal did not think of crossing Callicula at more than one point.

§ 6. *ludibrium oculorum*] 'an optical delusion'.

- p. 21. 1 § 7. *ex agris*] must refer to the villages; faggots (*fascēs*) might have been collected in the fields, but not torches (*faces*).

- 3 *domitos indomitosque*] 'broken and unbroken to the plough'. The former Polybius III. 93. 4 calls ἔργαται βόες.

- 4 § 8. *ad*] = *circa*, a meaning which is repeated in *ferme*.

- 5 *effecta*] 'a total of some 2000 was made up'. This includes only those that were actually used. Polybius says the strongest of the plough oxen were selected for the purpose l. c. τῶν ἐργατῶν βοῶν εἰς δισχιλίους.

*Hasdrubali*] the chief of the commissariat department (Pol. τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν τεταγμένον) and therefore in charge of the bees.

- 6 *accensis cornibus*] i.e. with the faggots on their horns lighted. By a still more remarkable hypallage Silius Italicus says VII. 333 *accensa inmittere silvis armenta*. Wlf.

*maxime super saltus*] 'just above the defile'. The oxen were not to be driven straight up the pass; for it was not intended that they should be recognized as oxen, but to the heights above it, so that the enemy should imagine that their flank had been turned.

## CHAPTER XVII.

- 8 § 1. *primis tenebris*] Polybius says ἅμα τῷ κλίνειν τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς νυκτός, after the middle of the third watch, or about 2 A.M.

- 9 *ante signa*] This is a little different from Polybius' account. He says that the oxen were driven towards an elevated pass (ὑπερβολή) so as to present the appearance of an army marching thither, while Hannibal himself made for the defile which was actually occupied by the enemy. In Livy the oxen and the army seem to take the same direction, though the former are some way in advance. See Appendix III. B.

§ 2. *vias angustas*] the defile. There is no special appropriateness in the plural. It is perhaps a translation of τὰ στενὰ. Pol. III. 93. 10 αὐτὸς...ἦκε πρὸς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς διεκβολὰς. But these words describe the line taken by Hannibal as distinguished from that followed by the oxen.

- 11 *accensis cornibus*] see on 16. 8.  
*in adversos montis*] 'up the slope of the mountains'.
- 13 *vivom imaque cornua*] hendiadys, 'the quick at the base of their horns'.
- 15 § 3. *quo repente discursu*] *repente* adv. qualifies *discursu*, 'at this sudden rush'. The use of adverbs in place of adjectives or relative clauses does not occur in writers of the best period, and marks Livy as belonging to the beginning of the silver age. Cf. 7. 11.
- 17 *circa*] = *quae circa erat*, see the preceding note.  
*ardere*] Madvig reads *visa ardere* unnecessarily. Plutarch, *Fabius* 6, says the oxen actually set the woods on fire πολλήν τῆς ὕλης δι' ἧς ἔφενγον ἀνάπτονται.
- 19 § 4. *qui...locati erant*] the *modica praesidia* 16. 3, 4000 men. Pol. III. 92. 11.  
*in...montibus ac super sc*] cf. *ad montis...maxime super saltus* 16. 8. *ac* is explanatory 14. 11 note.
- 21 *praesidio*] 'their post'. In Polybius they hurry to repel the enemy, who, they think, is attacking where the lights are seen. ἀπολιπόντες τὰς δυσχωρίας παρεβόηθουν τοῖς ἄκροις.
- 22 *velut tutissimum iter*] 'thinking this the safest way'. 3. 12 *velut foedo omine*.
- 23 *tamen*] Although they went *qua minime densae micabant flammae*. Still the story is confused, for the lights were seen *in summis montibus*, therefore it was not surprising that the oxen should be met with on the *summa montium iuga*. See Appendix III. B.
- 24 § 5. *cernerent*] sc. *boves*.
- 25 *flammas spirantium*] The writer purposely omits to add a substantive as the soldiers did not know what it was they saw, 'fire-breathing monsters'. Cf. for an omission with a similar purpose, XXI. 62. 5 *hominum specie procul candida veste visos, nec cum ullo congressos*.
- 27 § 6. *levi armaturae*] Livy has not mentioned these before. Polybius tells how Hannibal had ordered light troops (λογχοφόροι) to follow behind the oxen till they began to run wild, when they were to pass them on either flank, and engage any troops they found at the pass. III. 93. 8.  
*quoque*] as well as the oxen.
- 28 *incurrere*] only once again with dat. XXVIII. 5. 7 usu. *incurrere in aliquid*. W.

*nox neutros tenuit*] *neutros pugnam incipientis* is put to represent shortly *utrosque cum neutri inciperent*, but the sense is obscured by the omission of the true object of *tenuit* (*utrosque*).

## CHAPTER XVIII.

p. 22. 1 § 1. *Fabius*] he was posted on a hill at no great distance from the pass. See on 15. 11.

2 *utique*] with *nocturno*, 'at any rate'. See on 7. 11 *utique ab notis*.

3 § 2. *sub ingo*] The engagement was between the Roman guard which had abandoned the pass and the Carthaginian light-armed, who had been watching each other through the night, 17. 6. It is not apparent why the conflict should have taken place 'below the pass' and not rather on the heights above the pass to which the Romans had fled, 17. 4. Polybius says much more intelligibly, ἅμα δὲ τῷ φωτὶ συνιδῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἀντικαθημένους τοῖς λογχοφόροις ἐπαπέστειλέ τινὰς τῶν Ἰβήρων, 'at dawn seeing the Romans on the heights sitting opposite the dartmen, Hannibal sent some of the Spaniards to the assistance of his men'.

4 *ab suis*] i.e. from the Carthaginians, *suis* referring not to the subject *Romani* but to *levem armaturam*. The context prevents ambiguity. Livy is often careless in the use of *suis*, § 7, 12. 10.

7 *ad id ipsum*] 4. 3.

8 *remissa*] 'sent back'. Hannibal had himself gone through the pass during the night.

9 § 3. *concursandum*] the frequentative indicates irregular attacks, 'skirmishing'.

10 *levior*] explained by *velocitate...habitu*.

*armorum habitu*] 'the character of their arms'.

11 *gravem armis*] 'heavy-armed'. XXI. 21. 11 *levium armis*.

*statarium*] 'accustomed to stationary tactics'. Comparing the legionary and the soldier of the phalanx Livy says *statarius uterque miles, ordines servans*, IX. 19. 5 (C.).

12 *generis*] abl. of means.

13 § 4. *aliquot amissis*] Pol. III. 94. 6 κατέβαλον τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς χιλίους.

16 § 5. *super Allifas*] with *consedit*.

17 § 6. *Romam se petere*] To cause this belief he must have gone up the Volturnus as far as Venafrum, as though he intended to strike

into the Latin road. Then he must have turned due N. and marched by Aesernia and Aufidena to Sulmo and Corfinium in the territory of the Paeligni. Thence he reached the coast, and marched S.E. along the coast-road to the mouth of the Tifernus where he turned inland to Gereonium. See Kiepert's *Atlas*.

19 *iugis*] 'along the heights', 15. 4.

*absistens*] usually metaphorical = 'to cease', e.g. *bello* XXI. 6. 8: here literal, 'keeping at a distance'. For Fabius' policy cf. 12. 8.

20 § 7. *flexit*] S.W.

21 *Gereonium*] in the territory of the Frentani (though some authorities call it an Apulian town, 39. 16), a short distance E. of the border of Samnium, and S.W. of Larinum.

*urbem*] *in urbem* would have been more in accordance with strict usage.

23 *Larinate*] Larinum like Gereonium was a Frentanian town.

§ 3. *sacrorum*] Pol. III. 94. 9 καταγκασθεὶς ἐπὶ τινὰς ἀπελθεῖν θυσίας εἰς τὴν Πωμῆν.

24 *revocatus...agens*] the main verb is *profectus est*, which is rather awkwardly loaded with two participles. Again, the present participle does not go well with *profectus est*, as Fabius doubtless gave his commands before his departure. The fact is *agit* would naturally have followed *revocatus*, but Livy substitutes *agens* and continues the sentence from his wish to include the mention of Fabius' departure in the same period.

25 *agens*] properly belongs to *precibus*, with which it is often used by zeugma: however it is here used also with *imperio* and *consilio*.

26 § 9. *confidat...imitetur*] these verbs are in a primary tense, as they depend on *precibus agens* (which = a historic pres. *agit*).

*Sempronium*] the consul of the preceding year who had commanded and been defeated at Trebia. XXI. 53. 1, 54. 3.

27 *Flaminium*] cf. esp. 3. 7 sqq.

*censeret*] depends on some verb of saying which is understood, and which would naturally be past, as the time of the whole sentence is past. (Cf. *profectus est*.)

*extracta prope*] = *prope extracta*. Cf. 15. 2.

28 *per ludificationem*] 'in baffling'. *per* expresses the manner, in 15. 6 the circumstances.

29 *quite*] 'by doing nothing'. *movendo atque agendo*, 'by movement and action'.

31 § 10. *haec...praemonito*] The sentence is taken up again to correct the confusion noted on § 8 *revocatus...agens*.

## CHAPTER XIX.

p. 23. 3 § 1. *acstatis*] shews that these events took place later than Hannibal's march into Etruria, cf. *iam ver adpetebat* 1. 1.

5 § 2. *Hasdrubal*] he had been left in charge of Spain by his brother. XXI. 22. 1 *Hasdrubali fratri viro in pigro cam provinciam destinat.*

*quem...acceperat*] Accurately 37 in repair out of a total of 57, XXI. 22. 4, Pol. III. 33. 14, but here Livy seems to follow Polybius III. 95. 2, who speaks of 'the 30 ships left him', as the addition of 10 makes them up to 40, § 3.

7 § 3. *Himilconi*] Pol. l.c. *προχειρισάμενος Ἀμίλκαν*, which = Hamilcar.

8 *ita*] 'so', i.e. after the preparation of the fleet, and the appointment of Himilco.

*Carthagine*] *nova*.

11 § 4. *movisse*] cf. *ducebat* 18. 7, *movit* 1. 1 note.

12 *idem consilii*] = *idem consilium*. X. 34. 5 *primo ita compositus moenibus successit tanquam idem quod ad Miloniam certaminis esset*. The intention was to fight with whatever part of the enemy's force appeared first.

*fuit*] sc. *ei*. which it is not necessary to insert. XXI. 18. 3 *Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset* (sc. *iis*)...*tum ex Carthaginensibus unus etc.*

13 *ingentem famam auxiliorum*] hypallage for *famam ingentium auxiliorum*.

14 *delicto*] with *ad naves*. Pol. III. 95. 5 *λαβὼν...τοὺς ἐπιτηδευστάτους ἀνδρας πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβατικὴν χρεῖαν*.

*inposito*] sc. *in naves*, 'embarked'.

15 § 5. *altero ab Tarracone*] short for *altero die postquam ab Tarracone profectus erat*. XXI. 38. 1 *quinto mense a Carthagine nova*.

*Tarracone*] on the coast some 45 miles N.E. of the mouth of the Ebro. Along with Emporiae the Romans used it as their principal base of operations.

16 *stationem*] an anchorage. Verg. *A.* II. 23 *statio male fida carinis*.

17 *Massiliensium*] the faithful allies of Rome. We find them informing the Romans as to the temper of the Gauls before the Second Punic war (XXI. 20), and the movements of Hannibal (ib. 25. 1), or acting as guides up the country (ib. 26. 5). Polybius testifies to their devotion, *εὐγενῶς γὰρ εἰ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι κεκοινωνήκασιν Ῥωμαίοις πραγμάτων καὶ Μασσαλαῶται, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀννεβίακον πόλεμον*.

*speculatoriae*] *naves*, 'spy-ships'. They were smaller than triremes and without beaks. Pol. *ταχυπλοῦσας*.

20 § 6. *universo simul effuso terrore*] 'amid an outbreak of general panic'. *effuso* is used as though of a storm, *procella effusa*, VIII. 6. 3.

21 *multas et*] a Graecism. One would drop the *et* in translation.

23 § 7. *inde*] local, 'from these'. Polybius does not mention the towers. He only says *σημηνάντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν σκοπῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸν ἐπιπλοῦν τῶν ὑπεναντίων*.

25 *nondum...aperientibus classem promunturiis*] 'as the fleet had not come into sight from behind the promontories'. 6. 9 *cum dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem*. With this use of *aperire* = 'to allow to be seen', cf. Verg. *A.* III. 291 *Phaeacum abscondimus arces*, sc. they sink out of sight.

26 *exaudito*] 'heard in the distance'.

28 § 8. *vagos...quietos*] the adjectives express action. 15. 5 *vagos per vicos*.

29 *nihil minus quam*] 'anything rather than'.

p. 24. 1 *procul portu*] A prose-writer of the best period would have said *procul a portu*, cf. XXI. 5. 8 *procul Tago*.

Y 6 § 10. *oris*] 'stern ropes', by which the sterns of vessels were moored to the shore, while from their prows, which pointed away from the shore, were let down cables with anchors (*ancoralia*). How does *ora* come to mean a stern rope? Tyrrell (on Cic. *Att.* I. 19. 1) thinks that in nautical language the 'stern rope' which was also the 'shore rope', may have been known as the 'shore' as we call the sheet rope the 'sheet'.

*in ancoras evchuntur*] 'drifted out to their anchors'. See preceding note.

7 *raptim...agendo*] 'in the hurry of doing everything at a moment's notice'. *agendo* = *dum agunt*, cf. *indignando* 14. 7.

11 § 11. *derexerat*] 'had drawn up in line'.

13 *verius*] a common expression in Livy. XXI. 16. 4 *tumultuatim verius quam belligeratum*, 'there had really been skirmishing rather than regular war'.

*in fugam averterunt*] used of the conquerors in 15. 8.

14 § 12. *adversī*] the meaning can only be given by a paraphrase. 'as they could not possibly enter the mouth of the river to ascend the stream'.

15 *haud sane*] = 'certainly not'.

17 *per litus*] 'along the shore'.

- 19 *suppressae*] 'were sunk', an exaggeration. Polybius says two were taken with their crews, four were denuded of their oars and their marines, III. 96. 4. Livy's narrative of the events in Spain seems to be a paraphrase of that of Polybius except 20. 4—21. 8 which come from another source.

## CHAPTER XX.

- 25 § 1. *hostium erat*] cf. 14. 9 *Gallorum Roma esset*.
- 24 § 2. *religatas*] Pol. III. 96. 6 τὰ δυνάμενα κινεῖσθαι ἀναδησάμενοι.
- 25 *ad*] = *circa*, 16. 8.
- 28 § 3. *eius orae mari*] 'the sea belonging to that coast', i.e. the *mare Balearicum*. Pol. I. c. κρατοῦντες τῆς θαλάσσης.
- 29 *Onusam*] on the coast between Saguntum and the mouth of the Ebro, XXI. 22. 5.
- 32 § 5. *agrum circa*] cf. 17. 3 *omnia circa virgulta*, etc.
- p. 25. 1 § 6. *ad*] used by Livy with acc. of motion towards (with names of towns), contrary to strict usage. So § 3 *ad Onusam*.
- 2 *Longunticam*] not elsewhere mentioned, but probably S. of New Carthage, as it was there that the Σπαρτάριον πέδιον which produced the *spartum* began. W.
- sparti*] 'esparto grass' or Spanish broom. It was used especially to make ropes, but also mats, nets etc.
- 4 *sublato*] sc. *eo*. For the omission of the pronoun as antecedent, cf. XXI. 21. 1 *auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthagini acta decretaque forent*.
- 5 § 7. *praelecta*] This is W.'s correction for P *periectas*. The word occurs in Tacitus, *A.* vi. 1 *Campaniam praelegebat*. *prae*=*praeter* in compounds is common in Livy. Livy generally uses the simple verb, XXI. 51. 7 *oram Italiae legens*.
- Ebusum*] the largest of the Pityussae Insulae S.W. of the Baliares Insulae, now Yvica.
- 6 § 8. *quae caput insulae est*] one would have expected *quod caput est*, for if the idea which precedes is defined (which is the case here, the name being given) the relative generally agrees with the predicate, e.g. Cic. *Phil.* v. 14 *Pompeio, quod imperii populi Romani lumen fuit*, but Caes. *B.G.* v. 11 *flumen quod appellatur Thamesis*. Madvig § 316.
- nequiquam*] 'without result'. *frustra* 'with vain exertions', W.
- 7 *in spem iuritam*] *in* with acc. may express purpose, lit. with a view



to (the attainment of) a vain hope. Sc. 'in vain hopes of success'. XXI.

45. 4 *praemia pronuntiabat, in quorum spem pugnarent.*

10 § 9. *Baliaribus*] from these islands the slingers of the Carthaginian army were drawn.

14 § 11. *qui...sint*] 'such of them as really submitted'. A subjunctive of indefiniteness, the person being indefinite, as in II. 8 *libertini, quibus liberi essent, in verba iuraverunt.*

16 § 12. *terrestribus quoque*] after his success on land. The reference is to 19. 4 *minus terra concurrere ausus.*

17 *saltum Castulonensem*] 'the pass of Castulo'. The town after which it is named was the capital of Oretani on the Baetis. The pass itself lay through what is now the E. part of the Sierra Morena. Polybius who says nothing of the movements recorded in this chapter represents the passage of the Ebro by the Romans after the arrival of Scipio, 22. 4, as the first occasion on which they crossed it. III. 97. 5.

#### CHAPTER XXI.

20 § 1. *per Poenum*] 'as far as it depended upon the Carthaginians', cf. *trahantur per me pedibus omnes rei*, Cic. *Fam.* VII. 32 (D.).

22 § 2. *Mandonius Indibilisque*] Indibilis had fought under Hanno against Cn. Scipio in 218 B.C. and had been taken prisoner by him, Pol. III. 76, cf. Livy XXI. 61. 7. How he regained his liberty we do not know. The two brothers, for such they were, were constant in their attachment to Carthage except for a brief period in 209 B.C., when they submitted to Scipio Africanus.

23 § 3. *Ilergetum*] they lived E. of the Ebro, along the Sicoris. Their chief town was Ilerda, now Lerida.

24 *saltu*] the *saltus Castulonensis*.

29 § 4. *ut*] 'as they were but an undisciplined rabble'. Cf. XXIII. 14. 1 *haec ut in secundis rebus segniter otioseque gesta.* For the use of *ut* indicating that a fact is to be allowed for, cf. 5. 1.

p. 26. 1 § 6. *Ilergavonensium*] along the coast South of the mouth of the Ebro and between it and Saguntum.

*Novam classem*] perhaps the place called *ad novas* between Ilerda and Tarraco, mentioned in the Antonine itinerary. W.

2 § 7. *Celtiberi*] the most powerful tribe in Spain occupying the central plateau which divides the basin of the Ebro from that of the rivers flowing W. But the name Celtiberi is used with a wider signification owing to their power over the neighbouring tribes.

7 § 8. *ad*] cf. 16. 8.

## CHAPTER XXII.

- 9 § 1. *P. Scipio*] the consul of 218 B.C. who had been wounded in the engagement on the Ticinus (XXI. 46. 7) and had wintered at Cremona (ib. 56. 9) after the battle of Trebia. It seems to have been towards the end of summer that he arrived. Cf. 21. 1.

*provinciam*] The Senate put Scipio in command of the province which was to have been his in 218 B.C. XXI. 17. 1 *Cornelio Hispania evenit*. Pol. III. 97. 2 ἐπιστήσαντες στρατηγὸν Ἰσπλίον Σκιπίωνα κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν.

- 11 *triginta*] Polybius says 20.

- 12 *commeatu advecto*] abl. absolute, not governed by *cum*.

- 13 § 2. *ingens*] 'impressive', cf. 11. 6 *ingentem speciem dictaturas*, or merely 'swelled'.

*onerarium*] sc. *navium*. Cf. *speculatoriae* 19. 5.

- 15 *portum...tenuit*] 'made the harbour'.

- 19 § 4. *Hiberum transgrediuntur*] for the first time, Polybius says, III. 97. 5, οὐδέποτε γὰρ πρότερον θαρρήσαντες διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν ...τότε διέβησαν καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐθάρρησαν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πέραν πραγμάτων. But cf. 20. 12, which is drawn from another source than Polybius.

- 20 *nec ullo viso hoste*] *nec ullo*=*et nullo*, Pol. καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὴν διάβασιν οἰκοῦντας. This is not inconsistent with Livy.

*Saguntum*] The city then had not been destroyed on its capture by Hannibal in 219 B.C., XXI. 15.

- 21 *pergunt ire*] 'push on', cf. 19. 4.

*traditos*] *in custodiam*, XXIX. 21. 3 *ii omnes...traditi in custodiam Reginis* (Wlf.).

- 22 *ab Hannibale*] When Hannibal was starting for Italy he took from such tribes as he mistrusted the sons of their leading men as hostages, Pol. III. 98. 1. Presumably however he took them only from the *Provincia Carthaginiensis*, 21. 7, in which case *totius Hispaniae* is an exaggeration.

- 23 § 5. *omnium*] an exaggeration, some tribes had already joined the Romans. 20. 11, 21. 7.

- 24 *ne...lucetur*] this clause depends on the notion of fear conveyed by *morabatur*. Tr. 'made them hesitate, for fear of their revolt being punished'.

*liberum*] for *liberorum*. This with *socium* (27. 11 and 40. 6) occurs not unfrequently in Livy. The contraction with certain names of

weights and measures and numbers is commoner. Madvig, *Lat. Gr.* § 37. 4.

- 27 § 6. *Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus*] 'There was at Saguntum a Spanish nobleman called Abelux'. For the order cf. Cic. *Verr.* II. 111. 21 *Nympho est Centuripinus*, 'there is a man of Centuripa called Nympho'.

- 28 *qualia...sunt barbarorum ingenia*] This is equivalent in meaning to *ut sunt infida* (*qualia* getting its meaning from *mutaverat fidem*) *barbarorum ingenia*, 'with the usual fickleness of barbarian minds'; cf. 2. 4 *si...ut est mollis ad talia gens dilaberentur aut subsisterent*, note.

*cum fortuna*] i.e. *mutata fortuna*, but the expression is not quite accurate for it ought to = *cum mutavisset fortunam*.

- 29 § 7. *magnae rei*] either an objective genitive, 'without betraying something important', or more probably a gen. of quality = 'of great matter', 'important'. Cf. *tantae rei* § 12.

- 31 *corpus*] 'an individual'. *corpus* here means a man looked upon as a separate material being, apart from all circumstances of character, position etc.

- 32 *emolumentum*] used predicatively, 'that he (Abelux) might profit his new allies as much as possible'. This would generally be rendered by the dative. XXIII. 15. 14 *senties eam rem tibi emolumento esse*. (D.)

§ 8. *circumspectis*] 'having anxiously reviewed'. 13. 7 note.

- p. 27. 1 *poterat*] the indicative shews that this is a statement of the writer and not the thought of Abelux.

- 2 *potissimum*] 'by preference'.

*unam*] strengthens *maxime*. So *iustissimus unus*: 'far the justest man'.

- 4 § 9. *praefecti*] 'governor of the city'. On the other hand Polybius does not imply that Bostar had any special connection with Saguntum. He says he had been sent by Hannibal to defend the passage of the Ebro, but had retired and encamped before Saguntum, III. 98. 5.

*satis*] i.e. 'well-knowing', see note on 15. 3.

- 6 § 10. *in ipso litore*] 'quite on the shore', for *ipso* cf. 15. 7. Polybius says he was within the city, τῆς Σακάνθης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς θάλασσαν μέρεσι.

- 8 *in secretum*] sc. 'aside'. For the use of neut. adjectives in a local sense cf. 47. 3 *in directum*. 12. 10 *ex tuto*. 4. 3 *in aperto*.

- 10 § 11. *cis*] from the point of view of the speaker. West.

- 13 § 12. *miranti*] in a pregnant sense, 'expressing his surprise'.  
*subitum tantae rei donum*] *tantae rei* = 'of such importance'. Cf.

*magnae rei* § 7. *subitum* may mean either (1) suddenly suggested or given, 'unexpected', or (2) which is better, sudden in its effects, in which case the meaning would be, 'a gift which could suddenly produce such great results'.

15 § 13. *nomen*] 'distinction', the hostages were *υλεῖς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν*, Pol. III. 98. 1. Madvig reads *momentum* 'influence'.

17 § 14. *habita fides...fidem*] In the first place *fides* means 'trust' as in Cic. *Div.* 11. 122 *insanorum visis non est habenda fides*, in the second 'honour' as in Ter. *Andr.* 1. 5. 55 *te oro per tuam fidem*, reposing trust in others generally engages *their* honour. With *obligat* cf. 23. 8 *fidem publicam exsolvit*, and note.

*ipsam*] can hardly be rendered literally, it means the fidelity in question, which it is desired to secure.

18 *domos*] 'to their several homes'; the accusative from the idea of motion in *restituere*.

21 *gratiam*] Pol. III. 98. 8 *τὴν δὲ χίριν αὐξήσειν ἔφη πολλαπλασίαν, αὐτὸς γενόμενος χειριστὴς τοῦ πράγματος*.

§ 15. *ad*] 'compared with'. Cic. *de Or.* II. 6. 25 *Vir bonus sed nihil ad Persium*. So *πρὸς* is used in Grk. *λῆρός ἐστι πρὸς Κινησίαν*, 'he is a mere joke to Cinesias', Ar. *Lys.* 860. In both cases the meaning of comparison is developed from that of juxtaposition, which is the preliminary step to comparison.

*cetera Punica ingenia*] Livy credits Hannibal with *perfidia plus quam Punica*, XXI. 4. 9. Verg. *A.* 1. 661 *Tyriosque bilingues*. Polybius describes Bostar as *ἄκακον ὄντα καὶ πρῶον τῇ φύσει*, a harmless mild man.

22 *nocte clam*] words of similar meaning are often placed together without a copula in Livy, e.g. *luce palam* 24. 6, *clam furtim* XXI. 63. 9.

25 § 16. *fide*] here an 'assurance' i.e. of fidelity. Livy does not mention, as Polybius does, that the Romans hailed the prospect held out to them with exceeding joy (*ὑπερβολῇ προθύμως δεξαμένων τὴν ἐλπίδα*) and promised him (Abelux) valuable gifts. He is not proud of the transaction § 6.

27 *ad*] with a view to carrying out the business.

29 § 17. *excitatis*] *somno*. They were not in the plot.

31 § 18. *perducti*] 'the party', Abelux and the hostages.

p. 28. 1 *per*] expresses manner as in 18. 9 *per ludificationem*. But *eodem ordine* is the regular expression, the other not being found. 'P has *ordine*. Hence, *per eundem eodem ordine* has been suggested.

This is not improbable, for Polybius says the Romans employed Abelux to conduct the hostages to their homes, as he had undertaken to do for Bostar, III. 99. 6. The fulness of expression is characteristic of the whole sentence, being intended to express the completeness of the success of the stratagem.

2 § 19. *Romanorum*] objective genitive.

3 *in re pari*] repeats the idea of *si...ageretur*, 'though the favour was the same as that which they (the Carthaginians) had intended to confer'.

4 *expertos*] passive as in XXI. 1. 2. So *partitus* ib. 21. 2. *emensus* ib. 30. 5.

5 § 20. *Romanus*] 'the Roman general'. Publius Scipio as appears from the words which follow.

6 *ab re clementi*] 'with an act of kindness'. Cf. *ab dis orsus* 9. 7.

7 *haud frustra*] 'with good reason'.

9 § 21. *forent*] see on 9. 9.

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

12 § 1. *quoque*] should probably be omitted, as a repetition of *quoque* in 22. 21.

13 *intervalli*] cf. 18. 10.  
*cladibus*] dative.

14 *sollers*] 'adroit'. It is said to be formed from *sollus* (= *totus*) and *ars*.

*cunctatio*] cf. the well-known line of Ennius (quoted in Cic. *Off.* 1. 84)

*Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,*

adopted by Vergil, *A.* VI. 846,

*Quo fessum rapitis Fabii? Tu Maximus ille es  
Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.*

§ 2. *quae*] *cunctatio*.

15 *sollicitum...habebat*] 'kept H. in a state of anxiety'.

16 *eum*] = *talem*.

*militiae magistrum*] 'director of the war', 'commander', on the analogy of *magister equitum*, *in morum*, and *m. populi* which was the old expression for *dictator*. Perhaps this title suggested the nickname of Ἀντίβου παιδαγωγός which was given to Fabius at this time. Plut. *Fabius* 5.

17 *ratione...fortuna*] 'on system, and not by chance'. *Fortuna* is assimilated to *ratione*, otherwise the ablative would not have been used thus alone. *Eventus* and *ratio* are contrasted 39. 10. *Fortuna* and *ratio* 39. 21.

18 § 3. *contempla*] cf. Polybius III. 94. 8 Φάβιος δὲ κακῶς μὲν ἤκουε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀνάνδρως ἐκ τοιούτων τόπων προέμενος τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. Fabius was ill spoken of among the majority, who thought he had shewn cowardice in letting the enemy escape from such a position.

19 *armatos...togatosque*] 'soldiers and civilians', the *toga* being the garb and symbol of peace. Cf. Cicero's *cedant arma togae* (in *L. Pisonem* 30) and Juv. X. 8 *nocitura toga nocitura petuntur militia*, i.e. *pace et bello*.

*utique*] 'at any rate'. For the meaning cf. 7. 11 note.

21 *laeto...quam prospero*] 'joyful rather than successful', because it caused exultation for the moment, but did not lead to any good result. The reference is to the engagement described later. 14. 11—14.

*verius*] see on 19. 11. *dixerim*, a modest assertion.

22 *pugnatum fuerat*] Livy uses *fui fueram*, and *sum eram* indifferently to form the perf. and pluperf. pass., cf. 36. 8. The prose writers who preceded him join *fui fueram* with a participle only when it is used adjectivally and expresses a state. This is the case in 24. 2, 54. 1, where Livy's use of *fuerant* is quite correct.

25 § 4. *omnibus circa*] cf. 17. 3, etc.

*ferrum ignemque*] we say 'fire and sword'.

27 *ea*] *id* (sc. 'this act') is attracted into agreement with the predicate, as is usual when a pronoun is put first indefinitely as subj. or obj., e.g. *hic amor hoc studium*.

§ 5. *altera*] The second circumstance was that he had omitted to consult the senate about the captives. *Quod non expectavit* would have corresponded more closely to *quod iussit* above. But Livy diverges into a mention of the consequences of the act, instead of saying in what it consisted. This is indicated in what follows.

28 *primo*] 'in the first instance'.

*forsitan*] rare, except with a verb, which is usually in the subjunctive.

*dubio*] 'questionable'.

p. 29. 1 § 6. *primo*] *priore* the negotiators would have said, knowing of no third Punic war.

3 *quae*] i.e. *utra*, for which *quis* is sometimes used, not quite

correctly, e.g. Lucan *Phars.* 1. 126 *quis iustius induit arma?* sc. Pompey or Caesar.

*plus*] sc. *captivorum*.

- 4 *pondo*] abl.=‘in weight’. Occasionally the name of the weight is not inserted, when some case of *libra* is understood. 1. 17 *fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta*.

*bina et selibras*]  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pounds=210 denarii (as from 217—30 B.C. 84 denarii went to the libra)=about £7. 7s. (the denarius being reckoned at  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ ).

*selibras*] *singulas*.

*in militem*] ‘for each soldier’. For the distributive use of *in* cf. 52.

- 3 *pacti ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis*, etc.

- 6 § 7. *iactata*] ‘discussed’.

- 7 *tardius*] explained by *quoniam...consuluisse*. There was some delay because the Senate was offended at not having been consulted.

- 8 *erogatur*] ‘was voted from the treasury’.

- 9 § 8. *fidem...exsolvit*] lit. set free the honour of the state which was engaged for the fulfilment of the promise, hence ‘discharged the obligation of the state’. Cf. Pliny *Epp.* v. 10. 1 *libera hendecasyllaborum meorum fidem qui scripta tua communibus amicis sponponderunt*, and 22. 14 *fides...obligat fidem. publicam*, because Fabius had made the promise on behalf of the state as its representative.

- 10 § 9. *Gereoni*] The narrative is resumed from c. 18. 7. There however Gereonium is spoken of as having been *deserted* by its inhabitants. Here Livy follows Polybius III. 100. 4, except that the latter says Hannibal left *most* of the houses standing.

- 12 *stativis*] sc. *castris* 9. 4.

§ 10. *duas partes*] ‘two-thirds’. Hannibal’s object in making these arrangements was according to Polybius (III. 101. 10) ‘to secure as large a store of provisions as he could, in order that he should have abundance all the time that he was in winter-quarters, not only for the men but also for the baggage animals and horses. For he placed his hopes in his cavalry more than in any part of his army’.

- 13 *in statione*] ‘on guard’.

- 14 *praesidio*] sc. *futurus* (or *ut esset*) *praesidio*. *praesidio* is thus a predicative dative, cf. 59. 9 *praesidio castris relictis*. For the variety of expression, see *Intro.* II.

*necunde*] = *ne alicunde*. Cf. *necubi* 2. 3, 16. 6.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

16 § 1. *Larinati*] 18. 7. Larinum was rather to the N.W. of Gereonium where Hannibal was.

17 *profecto...dictatore*] *sacrorum causa* 18. 8.

20 § 2. *in planum deferuntur*] Polybius says he descended by the ridge which projects into the plain (κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία κατατείνουσιν ῥάχιν) and encamped near a place called Calene at its extremity, III. 101. 2.

*pro*] 'conformably to'.

21 *calidiora*] 'rasher'. Cf. our expression 'hot-headed'. (D.)

23 *levi*] 'slender'.

26 § 4. *quod minime quis crederet*] 'as would hardly have been believed'. However, according to Livy himself (cf. 23. 10), Hannibal did considerably reduce the proportion of those absent from the camp, on the approach of the enemy.

*cum hostis propius esset*] refers to the movement indicated by *in planum deferuntur* § 2.

29 § 5. *tumulum*] Pol. ἐπὶ τινος βουνοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, III. 101.

4. It was 16 stades nearer the enemy than the camp before Gereonium. *hosti conspectum*] 'visible to the enemy'. Cf. *invictus* = 'invincible'.

30 *sciret*] *hostis*.

31 § 6. *propior tumulus*] nearer to the Roman camp than the hill mentioned in § 5. Pol. γεωλόφου τινὸς ὑπάρχοντος μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων.

*inde ei apparuit*] sc. 'thence he (Hannibal) saw'.

32 *luce palam*] so *nocte clam* immediately after. See 22. 15 note.

p. 30. 2 *Numidae*] apparently cavalry. Pol. λεγχοφόροι 'light-armed'.

4 § 8. *tum utique*] cf. 27. 2, lit. 'then at any rate', = *tum vero*, and like *tum vero* introduces a climax. The preceding step is indicated in § 5, *propius movit*.

5 *conpleverat acies*] i.e. after it had been led forth from the camp. Pol. ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν...καὶ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὅπλων ἐξέταξε.

6 *per aversa a castris Hannibalis*] 'by the side (of the Roman camp) furthest removed from Hannibal's camp'. This would be by the *porta decumana*, the gate in the rear of the camp. P *castra e castris*. W. thinks some words may have fallen out, and that the passage may have run thus *per aversa castra [ne conspici possent] e castris Hannibalis*. For *aversa* neut. plur. used of locality, cf. 6. 5.

- 7 *caedem fugamque*] Polybius says that while the cavalry routed the stragglers the Roman infantry actually advanced to the Carthaginian camp and tried to tear down the ramparts, and were only repelled by the opportune arrival of Hasdrubal with reinforcements from the camp at Gereonium. Livy does not represent the exploits of Minucius as so important.
- 9 § 9. *ausus*] sc. *est*.
- 10 § 10. *pars exercitus aberat iam fame*] this is the reading of P, al. *ferme*. The words can hardly belong to this part of the sentence. They have no clear connection with *artibus Fabi*, which they separate most awkwardly from *sedendo et cunctando*. Wlf. inserts them as an explanatory parenthesis after *paucitate* omitting *iam fame*. For *iam fame* D. suggests *coacta fame*, cf. Pol. III. 101. 9 ἡναγκάζετο τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν νομὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀπομερίζειν τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν σιτολογίαν.
- 12 *priora castra*] 23. 9.
- 13 § 11. *iusta acie*] 'a regular battle', 28. 13. *quidam*] not Polybius; perhaps the annalist Fabius. Observe that Livy notices an account which represents Fabius as saving the Romans from defeat. See on § 8 *caedem fugamque*. (The account here referred to bears a certain resemblance to the narrative of Polybius mentioned in that note.)
- auctores sunt*] treated as one word = *tradunt*, cf. XXI. 38. 4 *ita quidam auctores sunt*. It may even govern an acc. XXIII. 16. 15 *quod quidam auctores sunt*.
- 14 *fusum*] 'driven in confusion'.
- 17 § 12. *Boviani*] Capital of the Samnite tribe called Pentri.
- 18 *unde erat*] sc. 'his native place'.
- 21 *praesidii*] often in Livy merely = troops.
- 23 § 13. *duo castella*] perhaps referring to the two positions occupied by the Carthaginians after leaving the main camp (*stativa* 23. 10) before Gereonium, that on the *tumulus hosti conspectus* § 5, and that on the *tumulus imminens castris* § 7.
- 24 § 14. *admodum*] = *circiter*.
- 25 *pari prope*] for the position of *prope* cf. 18. 9 *extracta prope acstate*. *vanam*] not in MSS., but inserted by all the editors: 'empty', 'lying'. Cf. Verg. *A.* II. 80 *nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget*.

## CHAPTER XXV.

28 § 1. *contione*] used generically, 'the assembly'. *contione* is assimilated to *senatu*; otherwise one would have expected *contionibus*, as the *contio* was of course not a permanent body like the senate.

30 § 2. *ut...essent*] The subjunctive with *ut* is here used with a concessive sense, 'even if all were true'. In *or. recta* this would be *ut sint*. Penelope writes to Ulysses *Protinus ut venias facta videbor anus*, *Ov. Her.* 1. 116. Cf. XXI. 47. 5 *nec verisimile est, ut iam Hispanos inflati transvexerint utres*.

32 § 3. *id enim vero...negat*] 'that this was really not to be endured'. MSS. *enim*. *enim vero* is Madvig's correction. *enim* might indeed be defended as indicating the ellipse of a sentence, 'Metellus (said he must speak) for it was unbearable', or as an asseverative participle, cf. *Georg.* II. 509 *hunc plausus hiantem per cuneos geminatus enim...corripuit*. But *enim vero* is especially used to express indignation. *enim*, according to Madvig, is not so used. He cites *Cic. Verr.* 1. 66 *hic tum alius ex alia parte; enim vero ferendum hoc non est*.

p. 31. 3 § 4. *obstare*] sc. 'hinder its recognition', 'set himself against'. C. and B.

4 *sedulo*] 'purposely'.

6 § 5. *alterum in acie*] *Flaminius* 6. 4.

7 *alterum...ablegatum*] *Servilius* II. 7. Cf. c. 31.

8 *ablegatum*] 'despatched', in a military sense; not 'banished'. This would have been *relegatum*.

9 § 6. *duos praetores*] *T. Otacilius* 31. 6 and *A. Cornelius Mammula* XXIII. 21. 4, where, it is true, they are both mentioned as requesting to be recalled, but only because they have no money for the payment of their troops. The passage does not seem to confirm the allegation that they were not required where they were.

12 *videret...gereret*] The other verbs in this speech (e.g. *sit*, *habeat*, *egeat*) are treated as if *negat* were a primary tense. The change is merely due to a desire for variety, and is facilitated by the fact that *negat*, an historic present, may be regarded either as a primary or as a secondary tense.

On the other hand where the speech is introduced by a verb in the past, *Livy* often changes to a primary sequence for the sake of greater vividness, the change being analogous to that from a past tense to the historic present in *or. recta*.

14 § 7. *quo*] abl. of separation. *Poenis*, *dativus commodi*.

*tamquam trans Hiberum agro*] = *tamquam esset trans Hiberum ager*.

The reference is to the treaty of 225 B.C. with Hasdrubal, making the Iberus the boundary between the Roman and Carthaginian territory, XXI. 2. 7. For the attributive use of *trans Hiberum* cf. 8. 1, 9. 5, 17. 3.

16 *Casilini*] In 14. 1 Fabius views the devastation of the Falernian plain from the Mons Massicus. Afterwards he occupies Casilinum to prevent Hannibal's escape.

17 *agrum suum*] cf. 23. 4. *tutante* is however not quite consistent with the allegation there.

18 § 8. *clausos*] with *retentos*, secondary predicate.

*prope*] following the word to which it belongs, as in 24. 14.

19 *tamquam hostibus*] See on *tamquam trans Hiberum agro*, § 7.

20 § 9. *ut...ut*] the first = *cum primum*, the second = *tamquam*.

23 § 10. *de abrogando imperio*] This would have been unconstitutional.

A Roman magistrate could not be deposed. The senate might induce him to abdicate voluntarily, by a declaration procured from the augurs that there was a flaw in his election (i.e. that he was *vitiō creatus*), or he might do so in deference to a senatorial decree. But if he had the courage he might disregard the decree, as Flaminius did in 223 B.C. (cf. 3. 13 note). *abrogabatur* is used incorrectly of the attempt to make Flaminius resign in XXI. 63. 2. Tiberius Gracchus' deposition of Octavius from the tribuneship by vote of the tribes in 133 B.C. was illegal.

*nunc*] 'as it was', often used like Greek *νῦν δὲ* to contrast an actual with an imagined state of things.

24 *aequando iure*] It appears that Minucius was actually appointed as a second dictator. Pol. III. 103. 4 καὶ δὴ δύο δικτάτορες ἐγγεγόνεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις, ὃ πρότερον οὐδέποτε συνεβεβήκει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. Polybius' statement is confirmed by C. I. L. 1. 1503 *Hercolei sacrum Marcus Minuci(us) C. F. dictator vocit*.

25 *iure*] 'rights', 'position', not *imperio*, for Minucius as master of the horse did not possess it.

§ 11. *nec...ne quidem*] for the repetition of the negative without destroying its negative force cf. 14. 4.

*ne ita quidem*] 'not even so', i.e. not even when this resolution has been carried.

27 *suffecisset*] cf. the expression *consul suffectus*. Fabius would not appoint a consul, but only preside at the *comitia* held for his election.

§ 12. *in actione minime popularis*] *in actione* = *in agendo*, 'as he was not at all popular as a speaker'. For *popularis* Madvig reads *popu-*

*lari*. Then *actio*, which generally = 'a pleading', or a speech before senate or people would have a more general meaning, 'political action', and the meaning would be 'he refrained from speaking in support of an unpopular policy'.

28 *satis*] not quite 'favourably'. For the strong meaning of *satis* when a negative has preceded cf. 4. 4.

29 *verbis extolleret*] *verbis* is generally added when the meaning of *extollere* is metaphorical.

30 *clades acceptas referret*] 'recalled the disasters which had been endured'. *referre acceptum* = 'to put down as received', e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 11. 1. 234 *rettulit acceptos regale nomisma Philippus*. But this is not the meaning here, unless, as has been suggested, *temeritati...inscitiae* be read. For the dat. of the person to whose credit the entry is made cf. V. 22. 2 *quod praedae rettulere...nec duci...nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae acceptum referebant*.

p. 32. 1 § 14. *sit*] in oratio recta *erit*, 'if I am continued in my command'. One would have expected *esset* for *sit*, as the time of the main action is past (*audiebatur, referret*). But Livy constantly reverts to primary sequences for the sake of greater vividness. See on § 6.

2 *bono imperatore*] 'if the general be a good one'.

3 § 15. *in tempore*] 'at the right moment', ἐν τῇ καλῶ.

6 § 16. *M. Atilio Regulo*] He had been consul in 227 B.C. and was now an old man, cf. 40. 6. With the caution of age he adopted the policy of Fabius, 32. 1.

7 *iure imperiū*] 'claims to power'.  
*rogationis*] *de acquando iure* § 10.

9 § 17. *plebis concilium*] General assemblies of the whole Roman people were called *comitia*. The term *concilium* was applied to meetings which did not include the whole people. It is especially applied to the meetings of the plebs apart from the patricians, i.e. the *comitia tributa*. The latter was convoked by a tribune (as here by Metellus) or an aedile, these being the original plebeian magistrates.

*magis...invidia...versabat...quam...audebant*] The meaning is *tacita invidia versabat...sed non audebant*.

10 *versabat*] 'worked on their minds', XXI. 30. 1 *advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque*.

*satis*] 'quite', for *magis...quam audebant* implies *non audebant*. See 4. 4 note.

12 *superante*] = *abundante*, 'though the motion found abundant favour'. Cic. *de Or.* 11. 83 *Pecunia superabat? at egebas*.

*auctoritas*] 'influential support'.

- 14 § 18. *sordido*] The Romans regarded all traffic on a small scale and all manual labour as mean (*quaestus illiberales et sordidi*); especially did they despise the trades which ministered to the pleasures of the table. *minime artes eae probandae sunt quae ministrae sunt voluptatum.*

*catarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores*

*ut ait Terentius, Cic. de Officiis II. 42. 150.*

- 15 § 19. *ipsum institorem mercis*] 'who sold his own goods retail'. An additional disgrace, for the *lanius* usually allowed others (*mercatores*) to hawk their wares. *institor* means technically a person who sells the goods of another.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

- 17 § 1. *ex eo genere quaestus*] depending on *pecunia*.  
*pecunia*] is the nominative. *ei* is omitted after *fecit*, as in 19. 4.  
18 *animos*] the plural is used in speaking of an individual, implying a superabundance of courage or spirit. Cf. § 3, Verg. *A. VII. 383* of a whipping top, *dant animos plagae*.

*liberalioris*] opposed to *sordidus* 25. 18. Greek ἐλεύθερος. *fortuna*, 'position'.

- 19 § 2. *toga*] the *toga* was the dress of the higher, the *tunica* of the lower classes. Hor. *Ep. I. 7. 65 vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello*. But *toga* is mentioned here rather with reference to its being the garb worn on public occasions; and *toga et forum* together express the idea of 'a public life'.

- 20 *proclamando*] 'declaiming'. The word is used in a contemptuous sense=shouting not speaking. *clamare* and *dicere* are contrasted Cic. *Div. in Caec. § 48. Cic. de Or. I. 46 non enim...proclamatorem aut rabulam* (a ranter) *hoc nostro sermone conquirimus*.

- 21 *rem*] *familiarem*.

*bonorum*] 'respectable citizens'. Livy means by *boni* members of the aristocratic party, IX. 46. 12 *ex eo tempore in duas partes discessit civitas; aliud integer populus, fautor et cultor bonorum, aliud forensis factio tendebat* (W.). Cicero often uses *boni* in this sense.

There was no public prosecutor at Rome, and the most effectual way by which a young Roman could rise to distinction was by impeaching leading men. Thus Cato the elder was prosecuted no less than 44 times in his life.

- 22 § 3. *honores*] specified immediately afterwards. P has *quaestura*

quoque. If this be read *honores* refers to the *minores magistratus*, membership of the boards III. *viri capitales* and *monetales*, and X. *viri litibus iudicandis*.

23 *dnabus*] this was quite exceptional.

25 § 4. *hand parum callide*] *litotes*, 'with no small cunning'.

26 *dictatoria*] represents an objective genitive, 'against the dictator'.

XXI. 63. 1 *consularibus impedimentis*. D. compares Cic. *Cluent.* XXVIII.

77 *ex invidia senatoria crescere*.

27 § 5. *que...que*] used by Livy only to join two relative clauses but often thus: not in Cic. or Caes.

28 *acqui atque iniqui*] 'friends and foes'.

29 *in contumeliam*] *in* expresses purpose, but we should translate 'as an insult'. 20. 8.

30 § 6. *ad*] = *apud*.

32 § 7. *litteris senatusque consulto*] The despatches probably contained notice of the *senatus consultum* and directions based upon it. *Litterae* and *senatus consulta* are constantly mentioned together. XLIV. 15. 1 *senatus consultum recitatum* (in the Senate)...*litteraeque extemplo ad utramque gentem ut id sciret indicatum mitti*.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

p. 33. 4 § 1. *rebus...favore*] abl. cause. Cf. II. 6 *vetustate iam oblitus eius imperii*. 23. 4 *fraude*.

5 § 2. *tum utique*] = *tum vero*, which would have been written had not *vero* preceded. It corresponds to *iam ante*. Cf. 24. 8.

6 *non magis quam*] 'quite as much'. Gk. οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ, 12. 11.

*victo*] for the construction cf. XLII. 47. 1 *ut nulla re magis gloria-retur quam decepto per inducias rege*.

7 *Fabio*] sc. *victo*.

8 § 3. *unicum*] ironical as in 14. 9 *nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quaesitus*, note.

*parem*] with *Hannibali*, 'as a match for H.'.

*quaesitum*] 'gotten' rather than 'sought'. So Hor. *S. I. I.* 37 of the ant, *illis utitur ante quaesitis sapiens*.

9 *maiores minori*] referring to rank.

10 *memoria annalium*] 'historic record'. Strictly speaking Minucius can only refer to the *Annales Pontificum*, which contained a meagre official record of important events and prodigies. Fabius the first of the annalists was *aequalis temporibus huiusce belli*, 7. 4.

12 *magistri equitum*] During the second Samnite war, in 325 B.C., the



master of the horse Q. Fabius Rullianus, contrary to the orders of the dictator and L. Papirius Cursor gave battle and won a victory. But for the prayers of the people Fabius would have had him executed. As it was he deposed him from his office. Livy VIII. 30—35.

13 *tremere...horre*] the use of these verbs with an accusative is poetical. Roby § 1123.

§ 4. *tantum enituisse*] for this use of *tantus* adding a reason for a statement which has preceded, cf. 28. 13. So *adeo* is often used in silver Latin.

15 *deorum*] who had given victory to Minucius 24. 14.

*hominum*] who had passed the plebiscitum giving him equal authority with Fabius, 26. 7.

18 *quomodo utantur*] 'how they were to arrange', a deliberative subjunctive.

§ 6. *se optimum ducere* etc.] So most of the authorities. Polybius says that Fabius gave Minucius the choice, proposing that they should either command in turn or divide the forces, and that Minucius readily chose the latter. III. 103. 7.

20 *partitis temporibus*] 'during equally divided periods' (sc. of greater length).

23 § 8. *eam fortunam habitura*] *fortunam* is the object. M has *omnia eram*, al. *enim*.

24 *quancumque*] Wlf. reads less well, *quaecumque*: then the meaning would be 'that fortune would sway everything that his colleague controlled'. Cf. 29. 1.

*habuisset*] in or. *recta habuerit*.

*sibi communicatum*] 'had been divided between himself and another'. *communicare* is used with the dat. only when the other party sharing is expressed by an ablative governed by *cum*.

25 *alio*] Madvig reads *illo*, remarking that *altero* would have been written for *alio* as there are only two parties concerned. But *alio* may express contempt.

26 § 9. *qua posset*] either (1)=*qua posset non cedere*, being taken closely in connexion with *numquam cessurum*. Then *qua* is rel. agreeing with *parte* and the meaning of the sentence is 'he would never willingly surrender the share which he could still retain in guiding matters by his counsel'; or (2)=*qua posset res gerere*, being taken more closely in connexion with *gerendarum*. Then the meaning is 'he would never willingly surrender his share of guiding affairs by his counsel wherever'. *qua*, adv. *pars* in this case=rightful share. So 'right' (or='duty',

a post-augustan meaning of the word. Cf. Quintilian v. 13. 1 *pars defensoris tota est posita in refutatione*).

27 *tempora*] 'periods'.

28 *exercitum*] sc. 'but the army'. An adversative asyndeton.

29 *liceret...posset*] *servare*.

31 § 10. *evenerunt*] 'fell to', i.e. *sorte*. XXI. 17. 1 *Iam sortiri iussi Cornelio Hispania Sempronio Africa evenit*.

32 § 11. *socium*] for the termination see 22. 5 *liberum*.

p. 34. 1 *castris...separari*] abl. respect, 'to have a separate camp'. Pol. III. 103. 8 ἀπέχοντες ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

4 § 1. *quae agerentur*] the subjunctive gives a meaning of indefiniteness 'which might be done', and so is used of repeated action, 'which were done from time to time'.

5 *per fugis indicantibus et...explorantem*] on the change of construction see Introd. II.

*per suos*] Hannibal had spies even in Rome, 33. 1. Polybius III. 104 says he learnt this from his prisoners.

6 § 2. *liberam*] sc. now freed from the control of his colleague.

9 § 3. *occupasset*] the subjunctive because *qui occupasset* represents the protasis of a conditional sentence, '*quem si quis occupasset*'.

10 *iniquiorem*] cf. *acquiore* 16. 2.

*locum*] 'his position', i.e. the position of the enemy against whom it was seized. Pol. III. 104. 3 ὑπεροχῆς δυναμένης ἐκατέρους βλέπειν.

12 § 4. *operae pretium*] 'worth the trouble'.

14 § 5. *prima specie*] lit. 'in appearance as first viewed', 'at first sight'.

15 *non modo*] = not *non modo non*. For if both clauses have a common predicate to which the negative belongs, and the predicate stands in the last clause, the negation which lies in *ne...quidem* may be referred to the whole. Madvig § 461. E.g. Cic. *Lael.* 24 *assentatio non modo amico sed ne libero quidem digna est*. In such cases *non modo* is best rendered by 'I do not say' or 'much less'.

16 § 6. *natus*] 4. 2 *loca nata insidiis*.

18 *et*] 'and indeed' i.e. 'the fact was'.

*in anfractibus*] 'in the windings of the valley'. *anfractus* is an incorrect translation of περικλασις in Polybius who mentions no valley. III. 104. 4 τῶν τόπων τῶν περὶ τὸν λόφον πολλὰς ἐχόντων περικλάσεις καὶ κοιλότητας, 'broken ground and hollows'.

*ut*] an instance of the 'definitive' or 'descriptive' use of *ut* 'some of them capable of containing'. This is really an *ut* of consequence, cf. 5. 7.

19 § 7. *quot quemque locum...poterant*] This clause distributes the *quinque milia* mentioned afterwards. Pol. l.c. says the troops were posted ἀνὰ διακοσίων καὶ τριακοσίων.

21 § 8. *necubi*] = *ne alicubi*, 2. 3.

22 *egressi*] = not 'who had gone forth', but 'who should have gone forth' *si egressus esset*.

23 *delegeret*] *eos*.

24 *avertit*] Hannibal, last mentioned in § 4.

26 § 9. *deposcere pellendos*] 'demanded the task of dislodging': for the use of the gerundive as an oblique predicative to the direct object of a transitive verb, cf. 54. 2 *eos...accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent*.

27 *inter stolidissimos*] 'conspicuous among the most senseless', VII. 5. 6 *stolide ferocem*.

*ad arma vocat*] the accusative is left unexpressed, as with other verbs expressing military manoeuvres, cf. 1. 1 *movit*, 15. 12 *ducturus*.

29 § 10. *dimittit*] 'sends off', i.e. from the camp. Pol. ἐξαπέστειλε.

31 § 11. *et*] 'also', 'on his part', unlike *et* in § 5.

*alia atque alia*] 'more and more'. Pol. III. 105. 2 συνεχώσθη παποστέλλοντος τοῖς ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας.

32 *increscente*] P *aut*, C *ut crescente*, 'as was natural when the conflict waxed fiercer', but this meaning is rather weak here. Further Wlf. points out that this use of *ut* = *ut par erat* occurs almost exclusively before prepositions beginning with a vowel.

p. 35. 1 *iustam*] 'regular', hence 'complete'.

2 § 12. *prima*] used adverbially, 'first the light-armed', or adjectively, 'which had been first despatched'.

6 § 13. *iusta...pugna*] a regular, i.e. regularly conducted, fight. *illa ordinata per principes hastatosque et triarios*, 5. 7 opposed to *tumultuarium certamen*. Cf. XXI. 8. 7 *nihil tumultuariæ pugnae simile erat, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo constiterant*.

*recta*] 'straightforward', 'front to front', a fight in which there were no attacks on flank or rear.

7 *tantum animorum fecerat*] cf. 26. 1, the plural *animorum* indicates abundant courage.

8 *res*] 24. 11—14.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

- 11 § 1. *Fabius*] *Fabius*' words are not given by Polybius. They are probably from Coelius Antipater following *Fabius Pictor*, who glorifies his kinsman.
- 12 *primo*] answered by *dein*.  
*paventium*] Livy constantly uses gen. plural participles substantively. They are best rendered by an abstract substantive.  
 5. 4 *terrentium paventiumque*.
- 13 *ita est*] 'It is as I thought', or more colloquially 'there now'. In Grk. τοῦτ' ἐκέينو.  
*non celerius*] the words are to be explained thus, 'quickly indeed, but not more quickly than I feared', i.e. just as soon as I feared; Plutarch *Fabius* 12 has τάχιον μὲν ἢ ἐγὼ προσεδόκων βράδιον δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς ἔσπευδε Μινούκιος αὐτὸν ἀπολώλεκε. If this is the correct version Livy's words should run: *Non celerius quam meruit, citius quam timui*.
- 14 *deprendit*] usu. *deprehendit* 'has overtaken', 'caught'. Hor. S. I. 2. 134 *deprendi miserum est, Fabio vel iudice vincam*.
- 15 § 2. *Fabio aequatus*] i.e. his elevation has only resulted in his humiliation.
- 19 *civibus*] = *concivibus*, 'our countrymen'. It includes both the troops of Minucius and those at Rome who had voted for the bill of Metellus.  
 § 3. *magna ex parte*] refers to both clauses, 'when many had been slain and many were looking for the chance to fly'.  
*circumspectantibus*] cf. 15. 2.
- 20 *caelo demissa*] usu. *de caelo*, but VIII. 9. 10 *sicut caelo missus*. (D.)
- 21 § 4. *priusquam veniret*] Livy and later writers use *antequam* and *priusquam* with the subjunctive of facts in the past, cf. 4. 7.
- 23 *continuit*] the subject is *Fabius* (suggested by *Fabiana acies*) as appears from *suos*.
- 24 *vage*] 'hither and thither'.
- 25 § 5. *plures simul*] 'several together' as opposed to those who were entirely isolated.
- 26 *volventes orbem*] the idea contained in the substantive is repeated in the verb. We should say, 'forming a circle'. The operation corresponds to some extent, but not exactly, to forming a square, as the formation was one in which all the troops faced the enemy, but was circular instead of four-sided. Cf. Sallust *Iug.* 97 *Romani*

*veteres et ob id scientes belli...orbes fecere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi simul vim sustentabant.*

- 27 *conglobati*] 'massed together', i.e. in the order which they are described as forming in *volventes orbem*.

*restare*] 'resisted'. In Cic. and Caes. the word is only used with the meaning of 'to remain'.

- 28 *exercitus*] depending on *acies*, lit. a single force had been formed consisting of the beaten and the unbroken army; gen. of contents or of that in which the thing consists. Roby § 1302.

- 29 *receptui*] dat. purpose.

§ 6. *palam ferente*] 'openly declaring'. Cf. 14. 15 *haud dubie ferebant* (sc) *Minucium Fabio ducem praelaturos*, and note.

- 31 § 7. *per*] expresses manner, or attendant circumstances 'amid changing fortunes': 18. 9 *extracta aestate per ludificationem hostis*.

- p. 36. 1 § 8. *cum primum* sqq.] this gnômè occurs in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 293:

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ,  
ἔσθλος δ' αὖ κακείνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται,  
ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων  
ἐν θύμῳ βάλληται, ὃδ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνὴρ.

It is quoted by Aristotle, *Eth.* 1. 4. 7 and adapted by Cic. *Pro Cluent.* xxxi. 84 and by Livy here.

- 2 *consulat*] here and just below *consulere* = 'to give counsel'.  
*in rem*] 'to the purpose', 3. 2.

- 3 *consulere*] here used absolutely.

- 4 *extremi*] lit. 'last', 'most worthless', cf. Sall. *Or. Phil.*, *M. Acmilus*, *omnium flagitiosorum postremus*.

§ 9. *prima sors...ingeniique*] rather 'the highest rank in the scale of spirit and intellect' than 'the highest lot, that of spirit etc.'; for *sors* cf. Hor. *C.* IV. 11. 22 *non tuae sortis iuvenem*.

- 5 *ac*] explanatory, 'that is to say'.

- 6 *dum discimus*] 'till we have learnt', lit. while we are learning. The event expected is treated as if it occupied the time of waiting, cf. Verg. *B.* IX. 23 *Tityre dum redeo, brevis est via, pasce capellas*: Roby § 1663.

- 7 § 10. *cum Fabio*] i.e. 'with that of Fabius'. For the brachylogy cf. XXI. 4. 8 *vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens*, ib. 45. 6. *praetorium*] 'head-quarters'.

- 11 § 11. *patronos*] the soldiers of Minucius are conceived of as

*liberti*, owing their freedom to those of Fabius, who are thus their *patroni*.

*salutabitis*] the future of command: less peremptory than the imperative.

*gratorum animorum*] 'gratitude', for which abstract idea there is no single word in good Latin.

## CHAPTER XXX.

12 § 1. *signo dato*] by the commander.

13 *conclamatur*] not by the soldiers in general, but by the proper officers 'word was given'. *conclamatur ad arma* VII. 5. 11. Cf. *Caes. B. C.* I. 66. 2 *signum dari iubet et vasa militari more conclamari*, where the expression is elliptical; though it is possible that the actual cry was *vasa. vasa colligere* like *signa movere* is constantly used to indicate the breaking up of a camp. *vasa = impedimenta*.

14 *agmine*] 'in order of march'.

15 *in admirationem converterunt*] *converterunt* 'attracted their attention'. Cf. XXI. 3. 4 *cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset*. The expression is here altered by the substitution of *in admirationem* for *admiratione*. *in* expresses consequence, as in XXI. 63. 14 *id in omen magni terroris acceptum (= ut esset omen)*. Lit. 'had attracted their attention so that they were astonished', 'had attracted their wondering attention'.

17 § 2. *tribunal*] a raised platform, usually of turf, but in stationary camps (*stativa*) sometimes of stone, whence the general might address the assembled army (*contio*): on such occasions the standards were placed before the tribunal, as here.

*alios*] = *ceteros*. This use of *alios* = ὁ ἄλλος occurs not unfrequently in Livy, but not in earlier prose writers, e.g. XXVI. 8. 5 *Iovem deosque alios*.

19 *militum*] a partitive genitive, like *delecti equitum* 15. 10. Fabius' soldiers are meant.

*eius agmen*] the troops of Minucius.

21 § 3. *modo*] 'just now'.

*quod fando possum*] *quod = nam id tantum. possum, sc. facere*. The words are a comment on *nomine* which is emphatic, 'in name, which is all I can do in words', 'which is all that words can do; hereafter my acts will shew that I am grateful as a son to his father'.

23 § 4. *oneratus...honoratus*] the play on the words may be reproduced by contrasting 'onerous' and 'honourable'. The use of words of similar sound, and of rhyming words (*ὁμοιοτέλευτα*) were recognized artifices with Roman writers. Quintilian gives instances of each IX. 3. 71—78, e.g. *ex oratore arator Phil. III. 9. 22, quantum possis in ea semper experire ut prosis*. With the present passage cf. L. XXI. 24. 4 *hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem advenisse*.

24 *antiquo*] lit. 'I leave in its ancient state' (sc. the law), is used of rejecting a bill. *Antiquare* is properly used of rejecting a new proposal, *abrogare* of repealing an existing law. The question being here of a *plebiscitum* which has already become law *antiquo* is used rather loosely, and is more nearly explained by *abrogo*. 'I reject and repeal'.

*quod sit felix*] 'praying that this act may be prospered'. Cic. *div. 1. 45. 105 (Romani) omnibus rebus agendis 'quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque essent' praeſabantur*.

26 *auspicium*] Only a commander-in-chief could take the auspices, consequently a *legatus* or inferior officer was said to be and act under the auspices of his commander-in-chief. To this position, in relation to Fabius, Minucius by relinquishing his *imperium* returns.

28 § 5. *ordines*] as *tribuni, centuriones, hastati, principes, triarii*.

*tenere*] 'retain': there is a zeugma, for *recipere* would be more appropriate of Minucius.

29 § 6. *interiunctae*] The preposition denotes reciprocal action, 'they clasped one another's hands'.

31 *lactus*] to be taken with *factus est*, as part of the predicate.

*tristi paulo ante*] sc. *qui fuerat paulo ante tristis*: for Livy's use of adverbs in the place of adjectives or relative clauses cf. 23. 4 *omnibus circa*, 17. 3 note.

32 *excecrabil]* a *dies ater*, IX. 6, like the anniversary of the defeat on the Allia.

§ 7. *perlata*] sc. *eo*. Cf. the omission of *ei*, 26. 1.

p. 37. 1 *non magis*] 27. 2.

*vulgo*] 'in general'. *militum vulgo* = *gregariorum*.

3 *laudibus ferre*] Pol. III. 105. 10 λοιπον ἤδη Φαβίῳ προσείχον τὸν νοῦν.

§ 8. *gloria*] sc. *Fabii*.

5 § 9. *biennio ante*] *ante* = *quod antierat*. 'During the last two years'. Not quite accurate, for it was now the autumn of 217 B.C. and the first defeat of the Romans on the Ticinus had only taken place in the autumn of 218 B.C.



7 *famam*] P *eam famam*, but to express *tam terribilem, illam* would probably have been used.

10 § 10. *solita sit*] Note the return to primary sequence though *dixisse* is an aorist.

*cum procella imbrem*] cf. XL. 2. 1 *atrox cum vento tempestas*.

*dedisse*] = *edidisse*. The episode, which is described from c. 23 down to this point, thus ends in the complete justification of Fabius, cf. 23. 2 *Fabi cunctatio contempta erat inter civis armatos pariter togatosque* with 30. 7 *pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ferre*, and Ennius' lines ap. Cic. *de Sen.* 4

*unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,  
non hic ponebat rumores ante salutem.  
ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.*

#### CHAPTER XXXI.

11 § 1. *Cn. Servilius Geminus*] the narrative is resumed from 11. 7.

13 *Sardiniae*] According to Polybius III. 9. 6, the Carthaginian fleet which had taken the Roman ships near Cosa (11. 6) was off Sardinia. On the approach of Servilius it retreated to Carthage. Servilius pursued, but without success.

15 § 2. *escensiones*] 20. 4.

*faceret*] see on *priusquam veniret* 29. 4.

16 *Menige*] The island of Meninx (now Djerba) lay S. of the Syrtis Minor. This was the island of the Lotophagi, described in the *Odyssey*.

*incolentibus C.*] Livy constantly uses a participle governing an acc. with the meaning of a substantive with a genitive depending upon it.

22. 11 *novas volentibus res*.

17 *Cercina*] Karkineh, N. of the Syrtis Minor. It possessed an important harbour.

*et ipsorum*] like that of the people of Meninx.

18 *talentis*] perhaps indicates Fabius Pictor as Livy's authority, as he wrote in Greek. Generally Livy expresses large sums by *auri pondo*, 1. 17. The talent (Euboic) was worth £243. 15s.

19 *Africae*] Polybius does not mention this landing in Africa.

20 § 3. *navales socii*] 'seamen', see on 11. 7.

21 *iuxta ac si*] so Sall. *Jugurtha*, 45 *castra munire iuxta ac si postes adessent*. Generally Livy uses *iuxta ac*, 32. 5 *iuxta ac pro capite Italiae*. It qualifies *effusi*.

*effusi*] 'dispersing'. 12. 9 *effusis populatoribus*. *effuse* 9. 3, *effusa* 3. 9 have a different meaning.

*cultorum egentibus*] 'uninhabited'. *incultis* would mean 'uncultivated'.

23 § 4. *a frequentibus*] opp. to *palantes*, 'by compact bodies'.  
*palantes*] = 'straying from the others'. *vagari* = 'to wander at random'.

25 § 5. *ad mille...amissum*] *mille* is nom., *ad* being an adverb and not affecting the construction. 41. 2 *ad mille et septingenti caesi*. *mille* is generally an indeclinable adjective. It is sometimes used as a substantive, as here, but (except very rarely) only in nom. and acc., cf. 37. 8. Even thus it is more often followed by a plural than a singular verb. XXIII. 44. 7 *mille passuum erant inter urbem castraque*. Madvig, *Lat. Gr.* § 72.

28 *Lilybaei*] now Marsala, on the extreme W. of Sicily. It was the most important naval station and fortress of the Romans in the island.

*T. Otacilio*] 10. 10.

29 § 7. *ipse*] *Ota*cilius himself as opposed to the fleet.  
*pedibus*] 'by land'. Gk.  $\pi\epsilon\delta\eta$ .

30 *freto*] sc. *Siculo*, by the straits of Messina. For the abl. XXI. 56. 9 *Pado traiectus*.

p. 38. 1 *et conlega eius*] added as a kind of nominative absolute, as it belongs to *accitus* alone and not to *traiecit*.

*M. Atilius*] *Regulus* the *consul suffectus*, elected in place of *Flaminius*, 25. 16.

2 *semenstri imperio*] The maximum duration of the dictatorship was six months (Mommsen, *R. H.* I. 263). Cf. IX. 34. 12 *semenstri dictatura*. It was often much less, cf. *ibid.* § 14 *qui intra vicesimum diem ingentibus rebus gestis dictatura se abdicaverunt*.

3 § 8. *omnium*] Here follows a sort of excursus like that on the duration of the siege of Saguntum, XXI. 15, or the route of Hannibal over the Alps, *ibid.* 38. Livy corrects his statement in 8. 6 that *Fabius* was appointed dictator. Possibly he came across the view here advanced in some writer after he had completed the section of the work to which c. 8 belongs.

*dictatorem*] 'as dictator', or 'was dictator when he carried on the war'. This would be more clearly expressed in Greek by  $\delta\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\alpha$   $\delta\upsilon\tau\alpha$   $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ .

4 *Coelius*] *Antipater*, see Introduction I.

*primum* etc.] 'that he was the first who was created'. *Coelius*'

words imply that others had been appointed dictator by the people since Fabius. This is a mistake. No other dictators were appointed by the people except Sulla and Caesar, to whom Coelius, who was a contemporary of the Gracchi about 120 B.C., could not refer. The appointment by the people in the case of Fabius was quite exceptional. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, II. 1. 139.

7 § 9. *Gallia*] i.e. the *Ager Gallicus* in Umbria where Ariminum was situated. Cf. 8. 1, 9. 6.

§ 10. *quam moram*] 'the delay thus caused'. Cf. *quo metu* XXI. 5. 4.

8 *expectare*] sc. 'to tolerate', correctly 'to await its expiration'.

9 *decursum esse*] depending on *fugit*, like *obtinuisse*.

10 § 11. *inde*] temporal.

11 *augentis*] We should say 'the exaggerations', instead of 'those exaggerating'.

*titulum imaginis*] *imagines* were waxen masks representing the faces of ancestors, kept in the atrium of a Roman house. Only those who had held a curule magistracy (consul, praetor, or aedile) could be thus commemorated. Thus, Sall. *Jug.* 85 *homo veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum* means a man of long and illustrious ancestry. *titulus* was the inscription placed beneath such masks recording the honours and exploits of the deceased. Probably *dictator bis* appeared on the *titulus* of Fabius as on his elogium or epitaph. *C. I. L.* 1. 288. Such *tituli* may have been altered from family pride, cf. VIII. 41. 2 *vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis*.

12 *obtinuisse ut crederetur*] lit. 'brought it about that he was believed'.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

13 § 1. *Atilius*] *Regulus* 31. 7. It is strange that only his *nomen* is mentioned here, while both the *cognomen* and the *nomen* of his colleague are given.

*Geminus Servilius*] the cognomen is placed first as in 40. 6.

*Fabiano...Minuciano*] because their camps were now separate.

27. 11—12.

14 *hibernaculis*] the consuls formed separate winter-quarters.

15 *quod reliquom*] *P quom.* *C, M cum.* It was probably now October.

- 17 § 2. *diversis locis*] i.e. from each other. The two consuls acted independently, though in accordance with a common plan.
- 18 *opportuni aderant*] cf. 6. 4 *infesto venienti*.  
*carpentes*] 'harassing'. See note on 16. 2 *carptim*.
- 19 *excipientes*] 12. 7, a term borrowed from hunting.  
*casum universae dimicationis*] = *universo periculo* 12. 10, 'the risk of a general engagement'.
- 20 § 3. *adeoque...coactus*] 'he was so far constrained by hunger'. Madvig says this is not Latin, and reads *eoque inopiae est redactus*.
- 21 *nisi cum fugae specie...fuisset*] *cum* = *non sine*. We should say 'unless retreat would necessarily have presented the appearance of flight'.
- 22 *repetiturus fuerit*] not *repetivisset*, for the verb must have been in the subjunctive because of its dependence on *ut*, irrespectively of its expressing the apodosis of a conditional sentence. The perf. subj. is used in this periphrastic conjugation, even if the verb depends on a secondary tense, as here, except in interrogative sentences, where *fuissem* is used. Roby § 1521. Livy XXIV. 26 *virgines eo cursu ex sacrario se proripuerunt ut si effugium patuisset impleturae urbem tumultu fuerint*.
- 25 § 4. *Gereonium*] 23. 9.  
*constitisset*] 'had come to a stand-still'. XXI. 49. 1.
- 26 *Neapolitani*] The original settlement, a colony from Camae, was called Parthenope. On the arrival of fresh settlers, a distinction arose between the new city (Neapolis) and the old (Palaeopolis), twin cities with separate walls, though politically united. A quarrel with Palaeopolis was the occasion of the first Samnite war. Palaeopolis was betrayed to the consul Publilius, and we hear of it no more. Neapolis joined the Roman alliance on favourable terms, as a *civitas foederata*, B.C. 325.
- 28 *ita verba facta, ut dicerent*] 'they spoke to the following effect'.  
*ut dicerent* is added pleonastically in order that there may be a verb for the acc. and infin. to depend upon.
- 29 § 5. *iuxta ac*] = *aeque ac*. 31. 3 note.
- 30 *urbe...imperio*] The repetition of *atque* so soon after *ac* is strange, and the sentence unsymmetrical. Wlf. suspects the clause as a gloss, from XXI. 35. 9. W. is inclined to strike out *capite...Italiae*.
- 31 § 6. *geratur*] sc. *bellum*.
- p. 39. 1 *foret*] see on 9. 9 *foret*.
- 2 § 7. *si crederent*] 'had it been their belief'. The imperf. sub-

junctive can be used like the pluperfect to express a hypothetical act in the past: only the latter is used of a single or completed, the former of a continued act. Cf. Hor. S. 1. 3. 6 *si collibuisse ab ovo usque ad mala citaret Io Bacche.*

*in sese*] in their persons, as opposed to their gold.

- 4 § 8. *duxissent...iudicaverint*] Livy often changes from secondary to primary sequence in or. obliqua, to give greater vividness to some part of the speech by representing the action from the point of view of the speaker instead of that of the narrator; but the change here is more than usually abrupt, cf. 25. 14.

- 5 *animo...voluntate*] ablatives of cause depending on *amplius*. Hor. C. III. 5. 40 *Carthago probrosis altior Italiae ruinis.*

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 9 § 1. *speculator Carthaginiensis*] not necessarily a Carthaginian; very likely a Greek slave engaged (as many were) in trade at Rome. Hannibal's intelligence department seems to have been well served. Cf. 28. 1.
- 10 *fefellerat*] = Gk. *λανθάνειν*. XXI. 57. 3 *spe fallendi*. *Romae* belongs to *fefellerat* as well as to *deprensus*.

§ 2. *praecisis*] = *abscisis*. Compounds of *prae* are used to express action affecting the extremity of a thing. Cf. *praetentam in litore* 20. 1, so *praeustae sudes*.

- 13 *coniurassent*] the subjunctive, because this was the allegation of their accusers. The mention of the place has struck some commentators as strange, for the place of meeting would not of course enhance the offence. Hence they have rendered *coniurassent* 'had taken the military oath', i.e. had fraudulently tried to enrol themselves among the legions, cf. 23. 3 *coniurabant*. But the *Capitol*, not the *Campus* was the place where levies were held, XXVI. 31. 11. And Zonaras says 9. 1 *καὶ τινες δοῦλοι συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πεποιηκότες προκατέληφθησαν*.

*acris gravis*] 'full' or libral *asses*, worth ten times as much as the *as* then current, see on 10. 7.

- 14 § 3. *Philippum*] Philip V. who succeeded Antigonos Doson in 220 B.C., and against whom the Romans fought the first two Macedonian wars (216—205 B.C.: 200—197 B.C.), the second of which was brought to a close by the Roman victory at Cynoscephalae.

- 15 *Demetrium Pharium*] of Pharos an island on the Illyrian coast.

He had been governor of Corcyra under Teuta queen of Illyria. In the first Illyrian war 229 B.C., he had conspired against his mistress and surrendered Corcyra. For this the Romans made him governor over a great part of her dominions. Taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the Romans with the Gauls in Italy, and relying on his alliance with Antigonus Doson, he soon began to plunder Roman allies; but Aemilius Paulus was despatched against him and he was driven into exile. This is called the second Illyrian war. He was not surrendered by Philip, but remained with him, and after the battle of Cannae urged him to his alliance with Hannibal.

- 17 *fugisset*] subj. because, like *coniurassent* § 2, it expresses the allegation made.

§ 4. *Ligures*] XXI. 58. 2, they had caught and handed over to him some Roman officials. *ibid.* 59. 10.

- 19 *Bois...Insubribus*] there had been a rising of these tribes in 219 B.C., XXI. 25.

- 20 § 5. *Pineum*] Pineus or Pinnes was the stepson of Teuta, whom the Romans had made king in her stead, with Demetrius as his guardian, at the end of the first Illyrian war, 228 B.C.

- 21 *stipendium*] the yearly tribute, which the Illyrians were bound to pay under the terms of the peace of 228 B.C.

*exierat*] 'had expired'. The statement is Livy's, unlike *fugisset* § 3, *vovisset* § 7.

- 22 *proferri*] 'to be deferred'. Madvig's correction for *proferre* P, as Pineus could hardly have deferred the day at his own pleasure.

§ 6. *adeo*] This use of *adeo* introducing a confirmation of a statement which has preceded (cf. *tantum* 27. 4) is not found in prae-augustan prose. It is common in Tacitus. Lit. 'to such an extent', 'indeed'.

- 23 *in cervicibus*] of an oppressive burden, the metaphor being taken from the yoke. We should say 'on hand'. It is also used to imply dangerous proximity, in which case the metaphor is probably from the axe. XLIV. 39. 7 *quanto facilius fuit abire quam cum in cervicibus sumus*.

- 24 *longinqua*] sc. *rei*. XXI. 21. 5 *longinqua militia*. P *longinqua*, according to which reading there is a hypallage.

§ 7. *in religionem venit*] lit. it becomes a matter of religious scruple. D. compares the cognate phrases, *in religionem verti*, and *religiosum* or *religioni est* (with an infinitive depending).

- 25 *aedem Concordiae*] on the *arx* beside the temple of Juno Moneta.

*per*] 'during' as in *per eosdem dies* § 1, though it may express cause as XXIV. 7. 10 *Puteolos per bellum coeptum frequentari emporium*.

26 *biennio*] accurately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years. At the time of the rising of the Boii and Insubres. XXI. 17. 7 and 25.

*vovisset*] The subjunctive indicates that this was the complaint of the people.

27 *locatam*] 'contracted for'.

§ 8. *duumviri*] Generally such business was done by the Censors, but occasionally by two commissioners specially appointed.

29 *in arce*] the S.W. summit of the Capitoline hill, added to distinguish this from the better known Temple of Concord on the *Clivus Capitolinus* (the N.E. summit) erected by Camillus in 367, to commemorate the reconciliation of patricians and plebeians at the close of the struggle about the Licinian rogations.

30 § 9. *litterae*] See 26. 7.

32 *creandos*] sc. to preside at the election.

*quam iussissent*] in full, *in quam iussissent comitia indici*.

p. 40. 3 § 10. *interregem*] Originally the *interrex* was appointed on the death of the king. Under the republic he was appointed for holding the Comitia for the consular elections, when the consuls had been unable to do so in their year of office. The *interrex* was appointed only by the patrician members of the Senate, and held office only for five days. At the end of this time another was appointed if necessary. We hear in one instance of a fourteenth *interrex*, VIII. 23. 7.

4 *avocaretur*] this would have been subj. in or. recta. When two actions are compared by *potius quam* the verb expressing that to which the other is preferred is put in the subjunctive. There is really an ellipse of *ut*.

§ 11. *rectius*] 'more in order', probably because the consuls were still in office.

7 § 12. *vitio creatis*] 'there being a flaw in their election'. The *vitium* might arise from the elections being conducted without the auspices being consulted (*inauspicato* XXI. 63. 7) or in consequence of their being consulted improperly (*non rite*). The question was decided by the augurs, and was sometimes not raised till some time after the election. IV. 7. 3 *Non tamen pro firmato iam stetit magistratus eius, quia tertio mense quam inierunt augurum decreto perinde ac vitio creati honore abiere, quod C. Curtius qui comitiis eorum prae fuerat parum recte tabernaculum cepisset*. This power of the augurs was a weapon in the hands of the aristocracy. Herennius insinuates that it was misused in this instance, 34. 9.

*vitio*] abl. of manner such as is found without an adj. in some phrases



of common occurrence and old expressions, e.g. *sacramento dicere*, Roby § 1238.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

9 § 1. *interreges*] one at a time. The plural is used because the Comitia were never held by the first *interrex*.

10 *prodicti*] 'nominated', the regular expression for the appointment of an *interrex*. IV. 43. 8 *prohibentibus tribunis patricios coire ad prodendum interregem*.

*patribus*] only the patrician members of the Senate, as the power of appointment dated from a time at which the plebeians had no rights nor political functions.

11 *eius*] *Cornelii*.

13 *patrum*] sc. the senatorial party. Since the Licinian laws in 367 B.C. the two great divisions of the state were no longer patricians and plebeians, but the new nobility on the one hand (cf. *nobiles homines* § 4) and the rest of the nation, still often called plebs, on the other. The former consisted of families a member of which had held a curule office. A curule office gave admission to the Senate. Thus the new nobility became closely connected with the Senate.

In this passage we trace the development of the opposition to the senatorial government which was begun by Flaminius (ἀρχηγὸς τῆς τοῦ δήμου εἰς χεῖρον διαστροφῆς Pol. II. 21. 8), when he carried his agrarian law (cf. 3. 4 note) in opposition to the wishes of the Senate 232 B.C., and reached an acute stage in the time of the Gracchi, 133—120 B.C.

14 § 2. *sui generis hominem*] 'a man of their own class'.

15 *ab*] 'in consequence of', XXI. 54. 6 *a destinato consilio avidus certaminis*.

16 *opibus*] supply *concussis*. The participle in agreement with a subs. is best rendered by a subs., as often in Livy. 'The shock given to the position of Fabius'. Cf. XXI. 1. 5 *angebant virum Sardinia Siciliaque amissae*.

17 *invidia*] abl. of cause.

[*et*] P has *et* which = *etiam*.

*extrahere*] = 'to raise forcibly'. The preposition has the same force as in *emunitus* XXI. 7. 7. *evadere, agmen erigere*.

20 § 3. *cognatus*] implying that he acted from interested motives.

21 *augures*] who had issued the *decretum* pronouncing the Dictator's election void. 33. 12.

22 *per]* expresses the means.

23 *suo]* whom he recommended.

§ 4. *hominibus nobilibus]* see on *patrum* § 1.

24 *quaerentibus]* alluding to the Roman interference on behalf of the revolted mercenaries of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, their fixing the Ebro as the limit of Carthaginian influence in 225 B.C. and their espousal of the cause of Saguntum in 219 B.C.

25 *debellari]* impersonal.

26 *trahi]* This allegation was absurd, for Fabius' policy was disapproved of by a large section even in the Senate, 25. 12. However, under the circumstances it was one which it was natural to make and which was likely to be believed.

§ 5. *universis]* 'if united'. The speaker insinuates that Fabius acted from calculation in dividing the forces. 27. 9.

27 *eo, quod]* 'from the fact that'.

29 § 6. *pater patronusque]* The first term only had been applied to Fabius, the second to his army. XXIX. 10. 11.

31 § 7. *consules]* 32. 1.

32 *possent]* 'though they might have finished and might still finish'.

*id foedus]* 'this was the compact that had been made', sc. *se bellum tracturos*.

p. 41. 1 *habitueros]* *eos* is the subject. In or. recta, *habebitis*.

2 *hominem novum]* generally in the inverse order. The first man of his family who has held a curule magistracy and thus admitted it into the *nobilitas*.

3 § 8. *plebeios nobiles]* see on § 1, *patrum*.

*eisdem sacris]* 'the same religious ceremonies', here used metaphorically = contempt for the plebs.

4 *patribus]* Livy uses the dative of the agent pretty freely, e.g. XXI.

39. 1 *Taurinis bellum motum erat*. V. 6. 14 *Auctores signa relinquendi universis exercitibus audiuntur* (D.). By prose writers of the best period it is as a rule used only with the pass. participle.

*desierint]* for the change from secondary to primary sequence see on 32. 8.

6 § 9. *ut...ut]* the second *ut* expresses the ulterior purpose.

*potestate]* because the patricians could continue to appoint one of their body *interrex* till the most favourable moment for the election should arrive. See on 35. 2 *in manu*.

7 § 10. *ambos ad exercitum morando]* 'by both of them staying with the army'. *ambos* is in apposition to the subject of the sentence, but

connected with *morando* to add a further specification about it, though grammatically the construction does not admit of this connection.

This use is characteristic of Livy's style, being found (1) with gerundives: cf. *gerendo solus censuram obtinuit*, IX. 29. 8: *aestimando ipse secum*, XXV. 23. 11. (2) with ablatives absolute: XXI. 45. 9 *velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis proelium poscunt*: IV. 44. 10 *causa ipse pro se dicta damnatur*.

The point of *ambos...morando* is that if either consul had consented to leave the army the election might have been held and the interregnum avoided.

- 9 *expugnatum*] 'had been carried by force'.  
*viltiosus*] = *vicio creatus* 33. 12.  
 10 *fieret*] 'should be pronounced'.  
 § 11. *unum certe*] by the *Leges Liciniae* 367 B.C.  
 11 *liberum habiturum*] sc. *consulatum*, 'would dispose of it as subject to no restrictions', i.e. freely.

#### CHAPTER XXXV.

- 15 § 2. *nobilium iam*] 'already ennobled' because members of them had already held a curule office. See on *patrum* 34. 1.  
 19 *ut*] expressing consequence.  
*in manu*] = *in potestate*, 34. 9. As presiding officer he could exercise some influence. He could dissolve the Comitia at his discretion, or refuse to accept a person as a candidate.  
*eius*] *Terentii*.

*rogando*] 'for the election', because at an election, as well as when a bill was brought before the Comitia, the question was put before them with the form *velitis iubeatis quirites*. Cf. XXI. 17. 4 and 10. 2.

*rogando* is dat. of work contemplated, Roby § 1382, connected with a subs. as e.g. in III. *viri agris dandis adsignandis*.

- 21 § 3. *Aemilium*] As consul in 219 B.C. he had taken Pharos and brought the second Illyrian war to a close. At the beginning of 218 B.C. he had been a member of the embassy sent to Carthage to expostulate about the siege of Saguntum.

There was a law passed 342 B.C. *ne quis eundem magistratum intra decem annos caperet*; but it had been temporarily repealed this year. XXVII. 6. 7 *latum . . ut quoad bellum in Italia esset, ex iis qui consules fuissent quos et quotiens vellet reficiendi consules populo ius esset*.

- 22 *Livio*] along with Aemilius had been accused of having unfairly divided the spoil after the Illyrian campaign, and condemned by the votes of all the tribes but one. In 207 B.C. with Tiberius Claudius Nero he won the battle of the Metaurus.

*ex*] 'in consequence of', cf. *ex comparatione* 8. 2. P *et*.

*ex qua*] P *et sua*. But Aemilius was not condemned, and *sua* can hardly be taken with *prope*.

- 23 *ambustus*] 'with his reputation blasted'. The metaphor from fire is commoner in Latin than in English, e.g. Pliny *Ep.* IV. 11. 5 *flagrabat ingenti invidia*, he was assailed with a storm of obloquy; and is especially used in connection with judicial condemnation. 40. 3 *se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse*.

- 24 § 4. *comitali*] *Dies comitiales*, days on which the Assembly might be convoked, 184 in number. *Dies fasti*, days on which only legal proceedings went on.

- 25 *concedentibus*] 'retiring'.

- 26 *par*] used substantivally, 'a rival'. XXVIII. 44. 9 *habebo ergo, Q. Fabi, parem quem das Hannibalem*.

*in*] 'with a view to'. *in* with the gerund expressing purpose is rare.

- 27 § 5. *Pomponius*] the *praetor peregrinus* of the preceding year, 7. 8. Cf. § 7.

- 28 *Furius*] was consul in 223 B.C. with Flaminius and acted with him in the campaign against the Insubres.

*Philo*] governed by *evenit*.

*iuri dicundo*] dat. of purpose with *sors evenit* as if *iuri dicundo duumvir factus est* had been written.

- 29 *urbana*] i.e. he was *praetor urbanus*, who decided cases *inter cives*.

*sors*] that which was awarded by the lot, 'function', 'jurisdiction'.

XXIII. 30. 18 Q. Fulvius Flaccus *urbanam*, M. Valerius Laevinus *peregrinam sortem in iuris dictione habuit*.

- 30 *evenit*] 'fell'. Used regularly of the lot. XXI. 17. 1 *tum sortiri iussi*. Cornelio *Hispania*, Sempronio *Africa evenit*.

§ 6. *additi*] not for the first time. There had been four praetors since 227 B.C.

*Marcellus*] consul in 222 B.C. when he slew Viridomarus, and finished the Insubrian war, and capturer of Carthage in 212 B.C.

*in Siciliam*] 'for Sicily'.

- 31 *Postumius*] he had been consul twice before, 234, 229 B.C.

*Galliam*] in the hope of inducing the Gauls serving under Hannibal to return for the defence of their country. Pol. III. 106.

- p. 42. 3 § 7. *novus*] 'which he had not held before'. Alarmed by the election of Terentius the Senatorial party had probably made a push to get well affected persons elected on the score of experience. Pol. III. 106. 3 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου κ.τ.λ.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

- 4 § 1. *multiplicati*] only 'largely increased', for at most they were not more than doubled.  
*quantae*] 'as to the amount etc.', the clause depends on *variant*.  
 6 *variant*] XXI. 28. 5 *certe variat memoria rei actae*, where MSS. *variata*. It is also used transitively.  
 7 *ausus sim*] Livy does not use *ausim* in consecutive sentences.  
 8 § 2. *alii*] *scribunt*, to be supplied from *variant*.  
 9 *in supplementum*] *in* = *ut esset*, we should say 'as a reinforcement'.  
 10 *octo*] the more probable account. So Polybius III. 107. 9. *gererent*] *consules*.  
 § 3. *quoque*] introducing a further statement by those who put the force at eight legions.  
 11 *milibus*] the plural of *mille* is used as a distributive in place of *millena* which is not found, only however in connection with *singuli* or some other distributive numeral. *Vicenos quinos et semisses in milia aeris solverunt*, XXXIX. 7. 5.  
 13 *treceni*] from this we should infer that the regular number was 200. But Livy always represents it as 300; cf. XXI. 17. 3. *quadringenti* has therefore been suggested as c. may have dropped out from cccc. Polybius also gives the number as 300, but inconsistently with his statement that the total number of cavalry was 6000.  
*duplicem*] Pol. *τριπλάσιον* which is probably correct.  
 14 *peditis*] sc. *numerum*.  
 § 4. *septem...est*] most likely a gloss stating the total. Madvig retains the words reading *fuisse* after *Romanis*.  
 16 *auctores sunt*] = *tradunt*. Cf. 24. 11.  
 § 5. *illud*] referring, as often, to what follows.  
 17 *discrepat*] 'on this point there is no disagreement', like *convenit* 'it is agreed'. Cf. III. 31. 8 *cum de legibus conveniret de latore tantum discreparet*.  
 19 *praebuerat*] 29. 6. Polybius III. 107 says it was on the capture of Canusium that the Senate resolved on an engagement, as supplies were cut off and the allies wavering.

§ 6. *ceterum*] resumptive, in the proper sense of *ceterum* (cf. Fr. *du reste*), Gk. δ' οὖν. Often used by Livy when leaving a disputed point, 'be this as it may'.

- 20 *moverent*] the subj. implies purpose. We cannot express the connexion in translation, 31. 2.

*libros*] see on 1. 16.

- 21 *territos*] see on *opibus*, 34. 2.

*novis*] with reference to those mentioned in 1. 8 and 9. 8.

- 22 § 7. *Ariciae*] 16 miles from Rome on the Appian way. Hor. S. 1. 5. 1 *egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma*.

- 23 *signa*] *manasse* must be supplied. *manare* is used of statues sweating XXIII. 31. 15.

- 24 *Cære*] cf. 1. 10. P, C, M *Caedes*, for which Wlf. reads *Caediciis*. A village called Caedicii is mentioned by Pliny H. N. XIV. 6, as near Sinuessa, itself famous for its warm baths. Madvig emends to *sudasse et*, which makes the sentence simple.

*manasse*] with *multo cruore*, which is the verb of this and the preceding clause as appears from its position.

§ 8. *etiam*] belongs to *magis*.

- 25 *via fornicata*] probably the same as that mentioned XXXV. 10. 10 *porticum...a porta Fontinali qua in Campum iter esset perduxerunt*. C.

- 26 *erat*] which used to lead to the Campus.

- 27 § 9. *procurata*] See on 1. 15.

- 28 *Paesto*] Posidonia in Lucania. The Romans planted a colony there in 273 B.C. and called the place Paestum.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

- 30 § 1. *Hierone*] Hiero king of Syracuse had been the ally of the Romans since the second year of the First Punic war, 263 B.C., and continued so till his death later in this year.

*classis*] with *ab Hierone*, cf. such expressions as *pugna ad Trasumennum* 7. 1.

- 32 § 2. *caedem adlatam*] 'the news of the defeat'. 36. 6 *propter territōs homines*.

- p. 43. 2 *propria*] 'personal'. *proprius* is opposed to *communis* as *suus* to *alienus*. Heerwagen cites XXXIII. 2. 1 *orsus a maiorum suorum suisque et communibus in omnem Graeciam et propriis in Bocotorum gentem meritis*.

3 *moveri potuerit*] corresponding to *moveri potuit* in or. recta, 'he could not have been distressed'.

4 § 3. *probe*] = *satis* 15. 1.

5 *prope*] belonging to the word which it follows, as in 18. 9.

7 § 4. *misisse*] the ambassadors speak in the name of Hiero.

8 § 5. *iam omnium primum*] 'first of all then', used in passing from general to particular considerations.

9 *ducentum*] sc. *librarum*. See on *pondo* 1. 17.

10 *adferre sese*] here the ambassadors speak for themselves.

11 *propriam*] 'lasting'. Hor. *S.* II. 6. 5 *nil amplius oro,*  
*Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.*

12 § 6. *modium*] = *modiorum*.

13 *quantum opus esset*] sc. *subvehi*, or *quanto* would probably have been written: though Cic. has *dux nobis et auctor opus sunt*, *Fam.* 2. 6.

14 § 7. *scire*] The ambassadors again speak in the name of Hiero as in *vidisse, misisse* below.

*Latini nominis*] 'Latin allies'. Those allies who had rights originally enjoyed by members of the Latin league. The most important of these were *connubium* and *commercium* with the Romans. The *Nomen Latinum* comprised old league towns like Tibur and Praeneste and Latin Colonies.

16 *vidisse*] So § 8 *misisse*, § 12 *accipere*.

§ 8. *mille sagittariorum*] 31. 5 note.

18 *pugnaces*] 'who were wont to fight', poetical. Hor. *C.* IV. 6. 8 *tremenda cuspide pugnax.*

20 § 9. *evenisset*] See on 5. 35.

*African*] According to 31. 2, this had been already done; but the incident was, as we saw, not mentioned by Polybius.

*et hostes*] as well as the Romans. *et* = *etiam*, cf. § 11 and *et ipsa* 2. 7.

21 *laxamenti*] 'freedom', lit. 'respite'. IX. 41. 12 *si quid laxamenti a bello Samnitium esset*. *minus* implies that the Carthaginians had already sent aid to Hannibal. Cf. 11. 6.

24 § 10. *uno tenore*] 'uniformly'. See on 15. 1.

27 § 11. *et*] = *etiam*.

*civitatis*] 'communities'. Paestum and Neapolis, 32. 4, 36. 9.

28 *gratia rei*] 'the goodwill implied in the act'.

30 § 12. *dare dicare*] Asyndeton is common in archaic and therefore in legal and religious language. So *optimi maximi, velitis iubeatis*

10. 2.



- 31 *sacratam*] 'solemnly established'. XXI. 38. 9 *ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice* (having a temple there) *Pocninum montani appellant. volentem*] = *benevolentem*, 'gracious'.
- p. 44. 1 § 13. *traditum*] If the subjects connected are of different genders the adjective or participle of the predicate is regulated in gender, provided the singular be used, by the nearest subject. Madvig, *Lat. Gr.* 214 a.
- 2 *navium*] the number has fallen out. This was probably the fleet of 50 ships mentioned XXI. 51. 6, for the fleet of Servilius had been recalled, 31. 6.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

- 6 § 1. *dum*] = 'that in the meantime'. We should say 'until'.
- 7 *nomine Latino*] Cf. 37. 7 note. *venirent*] the subjunctive as a purpose is implied.
- 8 § 2. *iure iurando...adacti*] The meaning is, hitherto there had been (1) a *sacramentum*, (2) a *iusiurandum* informally administered and not compulsory. Now the *iusiurandum* was prescribed by the State and administered by the officers of the legion.
- 9 *adacti*] 'were bound'. *ad iusiurandum adigere*, and *iusiurandum adigere* with acc. of the person are also used.
- 10 § 3. *sacramentum*] a form of oath in which the swearer imprecated a curse on himself (prayed that he might be *sacer*) if he broke it: it must be distinguished from *iusiurandum*.
- 11 *iussu...abitueros*] in the MSS. placed after *milites*, but the words express the purport of the *sacramentum* (cf. *conventuros*), not of the *iusiurandum* which was taken *ubi convenissent*. *conventuros*] Cf. 11. 3 *Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit*. *iniussu*] 'without his orders'. Cf. 39. 2 *indicente me*. Plautus has *inconsultu meo*, *Trin.* 1. 2. 130.
- 12 *ubi convenissent*] 'whenever'. Cf. *ubi procubuissent* 2. 7. *ad decuriatum aut centuriatum*] These are substantives, 'for their division into decuries or centuries'. *decuriatus*, of the cavalry. Attached to each legion were 300 cavalry (*ala*) divided into 10 *turmae* and 30 *decuriae*. *centuriatus*, of the infantry. The legion contained at this time (as a rule) 4000 men divided into 30 maniples and 60 centuries. The numbers in the century and maniple varied with the size of the legion. *decuriatus* is ἀν. λεγ., and *centuriatus* elsewhere = the office of centurion. Hence Madvig reads *ad decuriandum aut centuriandum* (= 'for

the dividing of them'. Roby LXIV). But this quasi-passive use of the gerundive is very rare in Livy (though cf. v. 26. 3); and he uses several verbal substantives of the fourth declension not elsewhere found.

14 § 4. *coniurabant*] in a good sense. Cf. 33. 2 note.

15 *ergo*] archaic=*causa*, usually in formal documents, though once in Vergil *A.* vi. 670 *illius ergo venimus*.

16 *sumendi*] 'getting from the supply in the rear'.

*repetendi*] 'recovering when thrown'.

17 § 5. *id*] 'the oath'.

*inter ipsos*] used attributively with *foedus*. Cf. 37. 1.

19 § 6. *priusquam moverentur*] subj. of a fact in past time: in 29. 4, a purpose is implied. The narrative is here resumed from 36. 6.

20 *denuntiantis*] for constr. cf. 40. 1.

*bellum*] governed by *perfecturum*.

21 *arcessitum*] 34. 4 *ab hominibus nobilibus Hannibalem in Italiam adductum*.

24 § 8. *pridie quam...proficisceretur*] the constr. is the same as with *priusquam* § 6.

*terior quam gravior*] a regular constr. when two qualities in the same subject are compared. v. 43. 7 *qui bella fortius quam feliciter gessissent*. Tacitus hating uniformity has *vehementius quam caute*, *Agr.* iv.

26 § 9. *qui*]='how'. P *quodne*, perhaps the query of a copyist who thought *quod* should follow *mirari* (D.). *quinam* has been suggested.

28 *togatus*] 'in the garb of a civilian', opposed to *armato* as in 23. 3 *inter armatos pariter togatosque*.

30 *signis conlatis*] indicating a pitched battle as in 23. 11.

31 § 11. *quam homines rebus*] merely added for the sake of the antithesis, which will not bear examination, for men do not suggest a plan of action to circumstances: the meaning is 'plans which one must modify to suit circumstances, instead of trying to force circumstances to fall in with a preconceived design'.

32 *inmatura*] proleptic=*ut inmatura essent*, 'he would not spoil by forming them before the time'.

p. 45. 1 *gesta essent*] corresponding to the accusative future in or. recta.

3 § 12. *ad id locorum*] temporal. Cf. *interea loci* Ter. *Eun.* 126.

§ 13. *et*] corresponding to *et quo* etc. Cf. i. 1. MSS. give *id*, in which case *sua sponte* must be taken with *apparebat*, 'was self-evident'. For *sua sponte* used of inanimate objects cf. i. 11.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

- 9 § 2. *et duo boni...et mali*] hypothetically, 'if ye were both good consuls...while if ye were both bad'. So *universis* 34. 5=*si essent universi*.
- 10 *me indicente*] = *non dicente*. Ter. *Ad. III.* 4. 62 *non me indicente haec fiunt*. This is rare, but *in*=*non* is compounded with several participles which have an adjectival sense, e.g. *indictus*, *infectus*, *incultus*, *indoctus*.
- 13 § 3. *nunc*] contrasting an actual to an imaginary state of affairs.  
25. 10.  
*te talem virum*] lit. you being such as you are. The meaning is 'and see what manner of man you are'.
- 16 *altera parte*] the consul being regarded as representing half the state.  
*claudente*] lit. 'halting'. P *claudet*. Cicero seems to use the form *claudeo*, which is to *claudico* as *albeo* to *albico*: *Tusc. v.* 8 *etiamsi ex aliqua parte clauderet*. Sallust, *claudio*: *Hist. III.* 25 *neque enim ignorantia claudit res*.
- 17 *iuris et potestatis*] because Varro as consul will have equal rights with Aemilius.
- 20 § 4. *nescio an*] 'I almost think'.  
*hic*] in Varro.
- 22 § 5. *adversus Hannibalem...oppugnaturus*] The emphatic words, as indicated by the order, are, *Hannibalem, tibi: Varro, te*. The force of *tuis equitibus ac peditibus* and *tuis militibus* is not so obvious. The meaning seems to be 'while *you* will have to use all your forces horse and foot against *Hannibal*, *Varro* will be using your own troops against *you*'.
- 24 *tuis*] by rousing them against their commander. Cf. 12. 12.  
§ 6. *ominis...causa*] because the mention of his name might bring bad luck. Cf. Cic. *Phil. IX.* 4. 9 *quibus Antonius (o di immortales avertite et detestamini quaeso hoc omen)*. L. XXIII. 47. 14 *nolle ominari quae coptae urbi casura forent*, sc. to mention, and so run the risk of bringing about.
- 25 *etiam*] 'if for no other reason'.  
*tamen*] the connexion is, I would much rather not say anything about Flaminius. Still I must mention that even he was not so wild as Minucius.

- 26 *furere*] indicating a temporary outburst, *insanit* a continuous state of madness.
- 27 *peteret*] Cf. 38. 6.
- 28 *videat*] the subjunctive because the sense is, 'without waiting to see'.
- 29 § 7. *qui*] we should say 'if'.
- 30 *togatos*] 'civilians', 23. 3. Cf. 38. 9.
- p. 46. 1 § 8. *aut...aut*] Notice this disjunctive method of statement. We should say 'if I am not ignorant'.
- 2 *nobilior*] with *Trasumunno*. Cf. 7. 1 *nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna*.  
*nostris cladibus*] abl. cause, as in 32. 8 *donum animo ac voluntate maius*.
- 3 § 9. *nec...et*] Cf. *et...nec* 8. 5.  
*unum*] 'before you alone'. Cf. § 17.
- 4 *excesserim*] with *potius*, 'I should prefer to overstep the mark'.
- 6 § 10. *eventus...ratio*] the latter is set forth § 11—15; the former § 16, 17.
- 7 *stultorum*] *Iliad* XX. 198 ῥέχθεν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω.
- 9 § 11. *omnia circa*] 17. 3 *omnia circa virgulta*.
- 11 § 12. *id documentum*] 'such a proof', confirming the preceding statement like *tantum*, 27. 4.
- 12 *meliores*] sc. *bello*.
- 13 *nos*] the Romans as distinguished from the allies.
- 14 § 13. *omnia inimica*] 6. 5 *per omnia arta praeruptaque*.
- 16 *sui*] partitive gen.
- 17 *raptō*] with *in diem* 'the plunder of the day'. Cf. 40. 8 *commatibus in diem raptis*. An emendation for *capto* P.  
§ 14. *tertiam*] XXI. 40. 7 *duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis*.
- 20 § 15. *senescat*] 'grows weaker'. A metaphor from the loss of strength attending old age, of frequent occurrence in Livy. *Senescere fama ac viribus* XXIX. 3. 15; *pugna senescit* V. 21. 7.  
*in dies*] 'from day to day' denoting increase or decrease. *in diem* § 13, 'for the (present) day'.
- 22 § 16. *Gerconii*] It was rather in the territory of the Frentani, N. of Apulia. Hannibal had been there since he returned from Campania, 18. 6.
- 23 *ne adversus te quidem*] 'not even before you, though you, unlike the rest, will credit my statements'.
- 24 § 17. *Servilius...Atilius*] Cf. 32. 1.

- 25 *ludificati*] 18. 9 *extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis*.  
 26 *infestam*] 'dangerous'.  
 29 § 18. *resistas*] implying successful resistance. XXI. 57. 3 *spe fallendi resistendive*.  
 32 *falsa*] lit. due to false statements, sc. 'unmerited'.  
 § 19. *laborare*] 'is obscured'. Verg. *G.* II. 478 *defectus solis varios lunaeque labores*. *laborare* is used in a different sense, 6. 2.  
 p. 47. 1 *extingui*] adversative asyndeton.  
 2 § 20. *timidum*] as Minucius had called Fabius. 12. 12 *pro cunctatore segnem, pro cuncto timidum compellabat*.  
 5 § 21. *nec...suadeo*] 'yet I do not advise'.  
 7 *tuae*] 'favourable to yourself'. So *suam*. W. quotes IX. 19. 15 *nostris locis*.

## CHAPTER XL.

- 11 § 1. *adversus*] 'in answer to'.  
*haud sane*] = 'by no means'.  
*magis*] with *vera*.  
 16 § 2. *populare incendium*] 'the fire of popular fury', with reference to a condemnation by the *Comitia Tributa*.  
 17 *semustum*] 'half-consumed'. Cf. *prope ambustus* 35. 3. The clause expresses his reason for preferring to fall into the hands of the enemy.  
 18 § 3. *caderet*] = *accideret*, rare. XXXV. 13. 9 *etiam si quid adversi casurum foret*. (D.)  
 19 § 4. *ab*] = 'immediately after'. XXVI. 13. 4 *ab hoc sermone cum digressi essent*.  
*sermone*] 'conversation'. Fabius' discourse is called *oratio* 39. 3 on account of its artistic form.  
 21 *sua*] 'devoted to him'.  
 22 *conspicior*] 'more conspicuous'. 24. 5.  
*dignitates*] 'men of distinction'. Madvig calls *dignitates* as applied to men *prorsus barbarum*, and reads *dignitas deesset*. But Cicero, *Sest.* LI. 109, has *omnes honestates civitatis, omnes aetates*, sc. 'all respectable persons'.  
 23 § 5. *castra*] still at Larinum, the Carthaginians being at Geronium, 18. 7, 24. 1.  
*ново*] the four new legions, 36. 2.

24 *bifariam*] 'in two places'. He does not say *binis* as in 44. 1, as the existing camp was only enlarged.

*ut*] = *ita ut*, 5. 7.

26 *omne robur virium*] 'all the flower of the forces'. *robur* = the strongest part.

27 § 6. *M. Atilium*] 32. 5. Polybius says he fell at the battle of Cannae, III. 109. 1, probably confusing his name with that of somebody else.

*excusantem*] alleging in excuse, 'pleading'. XXVI. 22. 5 *oculorum valetudinem excusavit*. So *defendere* XXI. 18. 2, *cum defenderent publico consilio factum (esse)*.

30 *duobus milibus*] the number is surprisingly small and very likely wrong. At Cannae where the arrangement was the same as here (44. 1 note) one-third of the army was in the smaller camp. *parte dimidia* makes it still more likely that this was the case here.

p. 48. 1 § 7. *parte dimidia*] 'half as large again'. Hannibal judged from the addition of the second smaller camp. In point of fact the army had been doubled.

5 § 8. *postquam erat*] since it had begun to be, as it still was, unsafe.

8 § 9. *fuerit*] in or. recta, *fuit*. Cf. 37. 2. *parata* has a pregnant sense: 'was ready, and would have been carried out'.

## CHAPTER XLI.

9 § 1. *ceterum*] continuing the narrative. Wlf. says that *ceterum* here, as in some other passages, indicates the transition to a new source of information. (In this case perhaps Valerius Antias. See on 43. 6.)

*consulis*] Varro, as appears from the context, though he has not been referred to since 40. 4, and there in conjunction with Aemilius.

*materiam*] 'opportunity'.

11 *tumultuario proelio*] with *orto*, *ac* subjoins the ablatives of cause *procursu...inssu*. Cf. 11. 6 *vetustate oblitus*.

12 *ex praeparato*] 'after preparation'. So *ex multum ante praeparato*, *ex necopinato*, *ex insperato*. *ex* expresses the circumstances. Cf. 7. 4 *ex vano*.

14 § 2. *ad mille et septingenti*] *ad* is used adverbially, and does not affect the case. XXI. 22. 3 *ad mille octingenti*. *ad* is thus used as a rule only with numbers composed of hundreds and thousands; hence *ad sescentos evaserunt* 50. 11; but cf. *ad mille* 31. 5.

16 *ceterum*] adversative.

- 18 § 3. *alternis*] sc. *diebus*, supplied from *die*.  
 19 *debellari*] impersonal, 34. 4.  
 20 *ni cessatum foret*] 'if they had not hung back'. For *foret* see on 9. 9.  
 21 § 4. *haud aegerrime*] 'with no great grief'. *haud* with the superlative is very rare. Cf. *haud nimis prospere* 9. 2.  
*inescatam*] 'lured as by a bait' (*esca*).  
 23 § 5. *omnia hostium*] 'everything about (lit. of) the enemy'. II. 4  
*omnes regionis eius*.  
 24 *duas partes*] i.e. the four new legions, and the forces added to the old ones, 36. 2.  
 25 *tironum...esse*] 'consisted of recruits'. Cf. 29. 5. XXIII. 35. 6  
*tirones*—*ea* (= *eorum*) *maxima pars volonum erant*. *Tiro*, a substantive used adjectivally, XXI. 39. 3 *exercitu accepto tirone*.  
 27 § 6. *omnis fortunae*] 'every kind of property'. For *fortuna* in this sense cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 5. 12 *quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti?*  
 29 § 7. *impedimenta*] that which was necessary for the march, as distinguished from that which was left in the camp. The clause which follows expresses the object of Hannibal's dispositions generally, and not of this measure alone.  
 30 *mediam*] i.e. which lay between the hills on either hand. P, C *medium amnem*, M *agmen*. *medium agmen* would have to be taken as in apposition to *impedimenta*.  
 31 § 8. *velut desertis*] with *fuga dominorum*, 'in the belief that they were deserted'. 17. 4 *velut tutissimum iter petentes summa iuga dominorum*] 'occupants'.  
 p. 49. I § 9. *fides fieret*] governing (*cum*) *voluisse*.  
 2 *sicut Fabium*] This has reference only to *falsa imagine*, as, except for the fact that there was a deception practised (cf. *ludibrium oculorum* 16. 6), the circumstances in the case of Fabius were different.  
 3 *in locis*] 'where they were'. Cf. 49. 4 *in vestigiis*.

## CHAPTER XLII.

- 4 § 1. *subductae stationes*] 'the fact that the outposts had been withdrawn', 34. 2, 36. 6.  
 6 § 2. *in castris*] with *conferta*.  
 7 *practoria*] Each of the consuls had a separate *practorium* (general's tent) even when their armies were combined.



- 8 *nuntiantium*] depending on *concursum*, the participle is used substantivally. XXI. 2. 6 *videntis speciem*, 43. 3.
- 9 *quoque*] = *et quo*.
- 11 § 3. *signa proferri*] implying an advance of the whole army. Cf. *conlatis signis* 24. 11.  
*iuberent*] *consules*.
- 12 *protinus*] as they went forward, 'on the way', 50. 11.
- 13 § 4. *unus*] 'any common soldier'. *unus* implies an individual not regarded as in any way distinguished from others. Catullus XXII. 10 *unus caprimulgus aut fossor* 'any bumpkin'. Cf. 22. 7.
- 16 *sustinere*] 'to hold his own against'.  
*Marium*] himself a Lucanian, 43. 7.
- 17 *praefectum*] used for the commander of the bodies of 30 (*turmae*) into which the cavalry was divided, probably the first of the three *decuriones* in the *turma*, 38. 3. It is used with reference to the Roman as well as the allied cavalry. It should be distinguished from *praefectus socium*, one of the three officers who commanded each allied legion. These, unlike the officers of the allied cavalry, were Romans.
- 18 § 5. *portis*] a poetic construction. XXI. 54. 4 *obequitare portis*.
- 20 *cum cura*] with *speculatus*.
- § 6. *ignes*] the grounds for his belief are expressed in this clause.
- 21 *vergat in*] 'which lay towards'. *vergere ad* is usual. P *adinhostem*.
- 22 *cara*] 'valuables'. XXI. 60. 9 *omnibus fere caris rebus*.
- 24 *vidisse* etc.] the omission of *se* is a Graecism, 34. 7.
- 28 § 8. *pulli*] the sacred chickens. These were kept in the camp under the charge of the *pullarius* when the army was on a campaign, that omens might be taken from their feeding. If they refused to eat it was considered an unfavourable sign, and the engagement was deferred; if on the contrary they ate greedily so that some of the food fell from their beaks and struck the ground (*tripudium solistimum*) victory might be anticipated. Cicero ridicules the practice. *de Div.* II. 35. 73 *inclusa in cavea et enecta fame si in offam pullis invadit et si aliquid ex eius ore cecidit hoc tu auspicium... putas?*  
*quoque*] implying that the refusal of the chickens to eat confirmed his misgivings.
- auspicio*] abl. instrument, 'by the auspices'. It is possible however that *auspicio* may mean 'at the taking of the auspices'. Cf. II. 36. 8 *ludis*; VIII. 13. 10 *comitiis*; XXXII. 9. 1 *Latinis*.
- addixissent*] = *annuissent*, 'had given their assent'. I. 55. 3 *cum sacellorum exaugurationes* (desecration) *admitterent aves*, in *Termini*

*fano non addixere.* In a negative sense, *cum aves abdixissent*, Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, I. 17. 31.

- 30 § 9. *Flamini*] he had neglected the auspices on leaving Rome XXI. 63. 7, but it is not mentioned that he did so before the battle of Trasimene. Cf. however Cic. *Div.* II. 33 *Flaminius non paruit auspiciis, itaque perit cum exercitu.*

- 31 *Clandi*] P. Claudius Pulcher, defeated at Drepana during the First Punic war, 249 B.C. Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, II. 2. 7 *cum cavea liberati pulli non pascerentur mergi eos in aquam iussit, ut biberent, quoniam esse nollent.*

*Punico bello*] with *clades*, not *memorata*.

*memorata*] 'famous', 7. 1.

- 32 § 10. *prope ipsi...prohibere*] The sentence has two points, an instance of Livy's fondness for welding two clauses into one. Cf. 17. 6. 'It may almost be said, the gods themselves interfered, but it was to defer, not to prevent the disaster which was hanging over the Romans'.

p. 50. 2 *forte*] does not contradict *di prope ipsi*. It only means that the deserters had not come on purpose to warn the Romans.

- 3 § 11. *Formiani*] 16. 4.

4 *Sidicini*] of Teanum Sidicinum in Campania.

- 8 § 12. *imperii potentes* etc.] 'enabled them to recover their authority'.

- 9 *ambitio*] 'desire for popularity'.

*suam primum*] 'first his own' implying, and then that of his colleague. *suam* refers per synesim to *consul* suggested by *ambitio*.

#### CHAPTER XLIII.

- 11 § 1. *motus*] from their position.

- 12 *evectos*] 'carried away'. Unlike 19. 10. *nequiquam*] with *rediit*.

- 15 § 2. *in dies*] generally only when there is an idea of increase or decrease. This is contained to some extent in *novas*, as in the inceptive, *qui senescat in dies*, 39. 15.

- 16 *mixtos ex conluvione*] 'composed of a medley'.

- 19 § 3. *exposcentium*] 42. 2 *concursus nuntiantium*; 19. 9 *fugientium magis quam cunctorum modo*.

- 20 *annonam*] 'the price of provisions', often with the meaning of 'a high price'. Plaut. *Trin.* II. 4. 3 *Cena hac annona est sine sacris hereditas*.

*primo...postremo*] the intermediate stages are omitted.

- 21 *transitione*] 40. 9.
- 23 § 4. *ita ut*] defining *fuga*, we should say 'and hurrying away'. *ita* is often omitted, 5. 6, 40. 5.
- 25 § 5. *movere*] cf. 1. 1 note. According to Polybius Hannibal had moved to the neighbourhood of Cannae, followed it seems by the Roman army, while Atilius and Regulus were still consuls, and it was in consequence of his seizure of the stores there that the Senate resolved to put eight legions at the disposal of the new consuls and risk a battle, III. 107.
- in calidiora...Apuliae loca*] Cannae was both on lower ground and further S. than Gereonium. Correctly speaking, at Gereonium Hannibal had been in the territory of the Frentani, not in Apulia.
- 26 *maturiora messibus*] 'riper for harvest'. 1. 3. 1 *nondum maturus imperio Ascenius erat.*
- simul ut*] The other objects which he had in view are indicated in *calidiora...maturiora.*
- 27 *transfugia*] ἀποσπασεῖς, used for the first time in Livy; *eo* must be supplied before *transfugia*, corresponding to *quo*.
- 28 § 6. *similiter*] 'as before', 41. 9. Weissenborn thinks this recurrence of the same statement is due to Livy's having incorporated two accounts of the same incident in his narrative, a longer and more elaborate from Valerius Antias (40. 7—42) and a shorter and simpler from Coelius Antipater, 43.
- 31 § 7. *Statilium*] 42. 4.
- p. 51. 2 § 8. *eadem*] sc. Paulus for waiting, Varro for fighting.
- 4 § 9. *ex sententia*] The MSS. have *sententia* alone which can hardly stand. For *ex* cf. 9. 11 *ex collegii pontificum sententia*. *de* is also used, especially in the phrase *de amicorum sententia*.
- 5 *nobilitandas*] 'to make it famous'. Cf. 7. 1; 39. 8.
- Cannas*] on the right bank of the Aufidus at no great distance from the sea. Polybius calls it a town, Κάβναν πόλιν: Livy, a village, § 10.
- 6 § 10. *aversa*] 'with its back to'.
- 7 *Volturno*] so called because it blew across Apulia from over Mt Vultur in Apulia (see map). Now known as Scirocco, an E.S.E. wind. Consequently Hannibal's camp faced W.N.W.
- campis*] 'along' or 'over the plains'. Cf. 15. 4 *iugis*.
- 9 § 11. *cum derigerent*] 'when they drew up in line', 19. 11.
- aversi*] with *pugnaturi*.
- 10 *offuso*] 'blown in their faces'. P *effuso p.* which = 'clouds of dust'.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

- 12 § 1. *Poenum...Poenum*] the first, Hannibal: the second, the Carthaginians.
- 13 *ad Cannas*] 'in the neighbourhood of Cannae'. Not to Cannae, for it was in the possession of Hannibal (see on 43. 5 *movere*). The main body of the Romans remained on the northernmost or ~~right~~ *left* bank of the Aufidus. See Appendix IV.
- 14 *bina*] a larger on the ~~right~~ bank of the Aufidus, and a smaller on the *left* (trans *Aufidium* § 3).
- [4] *eodem intervallo*] the distance is not mentioned in 40. 5. It is only stated that the small camp was the nearer to Hannibal, as was the case here. Polybius III. 110. 9 says 10 stades (=rather more than 1½ miles).
- 15 *sicut ante divisis*] i.e. unevenly. *divisis* is not to be taken with *intervallo*. Polybius says two-thirds of the army were in the larger camp, and one-third in the smaller.
- 16 § 2. *Aufidius*] generally Aufidus, now Ofanto. Although the most considerable stream in Apulia it is shallow and easily fordable in summer. In winter it is a rushing torrent. Hor. C. III. 30. 10 *dicar qua violens obstrepit Aufidus*; ib. IV. 9. 2 *longe sonantem Aufidum*. Polybius says it is the only river in Italy which cuts through the line of the Apennines, but it does not do so in fact.
- utrisque castris*] the two camps of the Romans.
- 17 *adfluens*] 'flowing near'.
- aditum dabal*] 'could be approached'.
- ex sua cuiusque opportunitate*] lit. 'according as it was convenient for each person', 'more or less conveniently in each case'. The words can hardly be taken with *haud sine certamine*, 'not without a conflict at the most convenient spots' as W. suggests.
- 19 § 3. *trans Aufidium*] Pol. III. 110. 10 *πέραν...ἀπὸ διαβάσεως πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς*, 'on the further bank E. of the ford'. Polybius conceives the Aufidus as flowing from S. to N. In point of fact its general direction is N.E. so this must mean on the right (southernmost) bank.
- 21 *nullum praesidium*] This is inconsistent with 43. 10, where it is stated that Hannibal was encamped near Cannae. Livy has omitted to mention, as Polybius (III. 111. 11) does, that on the arrival of the Roman armies, Hannibal encamped on the same side on which the larger Roman camp was. See Appendix IV.
- 22 § 4. *natis*] cf. 4. 2, 28. 5, the perfectly level plain on the left bank of the Aufidus is meant.

*qua parte*] sc. *equitalu*. Paulus was aware of this, and refused to fight on the N. bank. οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν συμβάλλειν ἱπποκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων δυσαρεστούμενος τοῖς τόποις, III. 110. 2.

24 *derigit*] 43. 11.

*procursatione*] = *procursu* 41. 1, 'a sally'.

25 § 5. *rursus*] referring to 41. 2, 42. 4.

28 *exemplum Fabium obiceret*] *Fabium* is in apposition to *exemplum*, 'taunted him with copying the example of Fabius'.

29 § 6. *hic*] Varro.

*penes se*] 'rested with him'. *penes* is used especially with the idea of praise or blame. XXI. 46. 8 *penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est*.

30 *usu cepisset*] 'had gained a prescriptive right to', cf. Lucr. III. 971 *vitaeque mancipio* (see simple) *nulli datur omnibus usu*. According to the XII. tables, undisturbed possession of land for two years gave a title.

32 § 7. *ille*] Paulus.

*proiectis*] 'sacrificed', especially in the sense of 'to throw away as worthless'. Hor. S. II. 3. 100 *qui servos proicere aurum in media iussit Libya*.

p. 52. 1 *inconsultam*] 'ill-advised'.

2 *exsortem*] a poetic word. Verg. A. VI. 428 *dulcis vitae exsortes*. For gen. cf. 49. 7.

3 *videret*] Varro.

4 *manus*] *eorum*. For the omission of the relative cf. Verg. A. XI.

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*magna tropaea ferens quos dat tua dextera laeto*.

## CHAPTER XLV.

5 § 1. *altercationibus*] Pol. III. 110. 3 ἡν ἀμφισβήτησις καὶ δυσχρηστία περὶ τοὺς ἡγέμονας.

6 *ad multum diei*] 'till late in the day'. Cicero would say, *ad multam noctem*.

7 *cum ceteras reciperet*] 'while recalling the rest', as opposed to the Numidians.

8 § 2. *ex minoribus castris*] cf. 44. 3 with *aquatoribus*. Polybius τοῖς ὑδρεουμένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάττονος παρεμβολῆς.

9 *trans flumen*] i.e. to the R. bank. See on 44. 3.

13 § 3. *evecti*] 'rode on'. The force of *e* is 'beyond the limit to which they might have been expected to keep'.

14 § 4. *auxilio*] 'body of allies', rare in singular with this sense.

16 *tenuerit*] = *retinuerit*.

*quod...fuerit*] explaining *causa*, 'the only reason that checked them...was the fact that'.

18 § 5. *cuius sors erat*] *sors* with *imperii*, 'the duty of commanding', 'the office of commander'. For the meaning of *sors* cf. 35. 5. *eius diei* depends on and describes *imperii*. P, C *cui*. The words seem hardly necessary as *penes Paulum* etc. have just preceded. They are added to emphasize the fact that it was Varro not Paulus who was responsible for that day's disaster.

*nihil*] stronger than *non*, 'without consulting him in anything'.

C. compares IV. 33. 5 *ea species nihil terruit equos*, 'not a whit'.

19 *proposuit*] 'exposed to view', 'hoisted', for the signal of battle was a red flag.

*traduxit*] to the right or S. bank of the river.

20 *quia magis...poterat*] 'as while he could not approve he could not abstain from helping'.

21 § 6. *transgressi*] *consules*.

23 *id erat flumini propius*] Pol. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος κατέστησε.

24 *equites*] a little over 6000, Pol. III. 113. 6. As there were 8 legions each with 300 horse, we should have expected 7200. 36. 3.

*pedites*] sc. *sociorum*.

25 § 7. *extremi*] 'on the extreme flank'.

*intra*] with *tenuerunt* as if it were a substantive = τὰ εἶσω, the position further in', i.e. than the cavalry on the extreme left.

*pedites*] again *sociorum*. Thus each wing consisted of cavalry and a detachment of allies, while the Roman legions occupied the centre.

*ad medium* etc.] 'adjoining, towards the centre, the Roman legions'. The order seems to indicate that this is the meaning, rather than 'adjoining the legions who were in the centre'. However *ad medium* may mean 'in the centre'. W. compares XXXVI. 11. 3 *quique ubique, ad Bocotiam maxime* (=in Bocotia) *praepositi erant hibernis*. Polybius III. 113. 3 adds a statement regarding the way in which the Roman infantry generally was drawn up, πυκνοτέρας ἢ πρόσθεν τὰς σημάδας καθιστάνων καὶ ποιῶν πολλαπλάσιον τὸ βάθος ἐν ταῖς σπέραις τοῦ μετώπου, 'drawing up the maniples in closer order than usual, and making the depth in each maniple many times as great as the front'.

- 27 *prima acies facta*] 'formed the first line'. They stood however well in advance of the main body. Pol. III. 113. 4 *πάσης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως προέστησε τοὺς εὐζώνους ἐν ἀποστάσει* (at an interval).

## CHAPTER XLVI.

- 30 § 1. *alia*] = *reliqua*.

- 31 *transgressus*] Pol. I. c. *κατὰ διαποὺς τόπους*.

*ut quosque traduxerat*] 'as fast as he got them across the river', not *quemque* for the troops were brought across not individually but in detachments.

- p. 53. 4 § 3. *firmata*] 'being composed of' not 'strengthened with'. There were no other troops there besides those mentioned. XXI. 46. 5 *cornua Numidis firmat*.

*Afrorum essent*] 'consisted of Africans', cf. 41. 5. *Afri* would include Carthaginians, Libyphoenices and African allies.

*cornua*] the wings, so to speak, of the infantry by itself. Polybius expresses the same thing thus. 'He placed on the left wing the Spanish and Gallic cavalry, adjoining them half the Carthaginian heavy armed (who were thus one wing of the infantry, and faced the *pedites sociorum* 45. 6), and next to them the Spanish and Gallic infantry. Beside these he placed the rest of the Carthaginians (who were thus the other wing of the infantry, and faced the *pedites sociorum* 45. 7), while upon the right he drew up the Numidian cavalry'.

- 5 *Galli atque Hispani*] Polybius explains the way in which these were drawn up (cf. 47. 5 note). 'Taking the middle ranks of the Spaniards and Gauls he advanced them, and following out the same principle, drew up their remaining ranks so as to unite them with the wings (*συνοδύνα*) making the formation in the form of a crescent, (*μηννοειδὲς ποιῶν τὸ κύρτωμα*), and making the ranks of those that composed it shallow, intending to keep the Africans as a kind of ambush in the fight and let the Spaniards and Gauls bear the brunt of the danger', III. 113. 9. *μηννοειδὲς* is not to be taken quite literally, as there are tactical difficulties in the way of drawing up men in the form of a crescent. Probably the formation is correctly described as a truncated wedge, which however was not solid, the ranks being shallow.

- 6 § 4. *Afros*] this is the subject, *esse* being omitted.

*magna ex parte*] probably a mere anticipation of *magna ex parte* which follows.



- 7 *ita*] sc. as Romans.  
*ad Trebiam*] sc. *captis*.
- 9 § 5. *eiusdem formæ*] i.e. the shields of the Gauls were like those of the Spaniards, not like those of the Romans.  
*disparēs ac dissimiles*] 'different in appearance and in use'. Explained by what follows.
- 10 *mucronibus*] 'points'. Pol. III. 114. 3 ἡ δὲ Γαλατικὴ μάχαιρα μίαν εἶχε χρεῖαν τὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς, καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἀποστάσεως. 'The Gaulish sword was of no use except to deal a downward blow, and this from a distance'.
- 11 *brevitate habiles*] *brevitate*, 'by reason of their shortness', 'short and handy'. 11. 6 *vetustate oblitos*.
- 12 *ante alios*] with *terribilis*. Madvig's emendation for P *antetalius*, Vulg. *et alius*.  
*habitus*] 'character', 'appearance'.
- 14 § 6. *praetextis purpura*] 'bordered with purple', Pol. περιπορφύροις.
- 15 *constiterant*] we should say 'which as they stood there glanced' etc.  
*numerus...milion...quadraginta*] 'the number was 40,000'. Gen. of that in which the thing consists, Roby § 1302.
- 18 § 7. *Hasdrubal*] the same who carried out the stratagem for eluding Fabius, 16. 8, and who was in charge of the commissariat department (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν τεταγμένος) Pol. III. 93. 4.  
*Maharbal*] 6. 11; 13. 9. Polybius III. 14. 7 and Appian say Hanno commanded the right wing. This Hanno was son of Bomilcar a Sufete, and a nephew of Hannibal. We have heard of him before at the passage of the Rhone where he crossed the river higher up than Hannibal and took the Gauls in the rear.
- 19 *Magone*] He had commanded an ambush at the battle of Trebia, XXI. 54. 1. Polybius describes him as ὄντα νέον μὲν ὄρμης δὲ πλήρη καὶ παιδομαθῇ περὶ τὰ πολεμικά.
- 20 § 8. *locatis*] probably abl. absol. (= *iis locatis*), though it may possibly be dat. in apposition to *utrique parti* which is dat. *commodi*.
- 21 *Romanis*] So Polybius III. 113. 2 λαμβάνων πᾶσι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν (front) τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν.
- 22 § 9. *Vollturnum*] repeated from 43. 10. Appian adds that Hannibal had had the field of battle ploughed up in order that the Romans might be the more troubled with the dust.
- 23 *in ipsa ora*] 'right in their faces', for this use of *ipse* cf. 5. 7.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

- 25 § 1. *levibus armis*] 'light-armed'. 3. 9 *auxiliis levium armorum*. They fought awhile without decisive result (τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐπ' ἴσον ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος), but after the defeat of the Roman cavalry on the right the heavy infantry on each side allowed them to pass through their ranks (διαδεξάμενα) and advanced to the attack themselves. Pol. III. 115. 1.
- 26 *equitum...cornu*] 'the left wing consisting of Gaulish cavalry'. Roby § 1302.
- 28 *equestris pugnae*] which was usually conducted by repeated attacks. Sall. *Ing.* 59. 3 *non uti equestri proelio solet sequi deinde cedere sed adversis frontibus concurrere*.
- 30 § 2. *nullo spatio*] Polybius attributes the tactics employed to the fact that the enemy were uncivilized, not to the nature of the ground. ἐποίουν μάχην ἀληθινὴν καὶ βαρβαρικὴν.  
*ad evagandum*] for riding right or left so as to take the enemy in flank, 'for evolutions'.
- 31 *claudabant*] the object is omitted as in 5. 6 *a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies clauicbat*.
- 32 § 3. *in directum*] 'straight in'.  
*stantibus...confertis postremo*] 'first brought to a standstill then jammed together'.
- p. 54. 1 *turba*] abl. cause as in 46. 6.
- 2 *detrahebat*] After *nitentes* we should have expected *detrahebant*, but the verb is put in the singular because *vir virum amplexus* inserted in apposition to *nitentes* is nearer to it.
- 4 *terga vertunt*] Aemilius who was commanding this wing escaped. μετασχῶν ἐπὶ τι τοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ἀγῶνος ὁμῶς ἔτι τότε διεσώζετο.
- § 4. *sub*] here probably='just after'. See on *levibus armis* § 1, though it may also='just before', e.g. *sub noctem*.
- 6 *par, dum*] Madvig's correction for *parum*. *Pares* used commonly to be read, agreeing with *ordines*, a colon being placed after *pugna*.  
*constabant*] 'remained unbroken'.
- 7 § 5. *conisi, obliqua fronte*] P *consiliacqua*, vulg. *connisi acqua*, which has been corrected by Lipsius to *c. obliqua fronte*.  
W. and Wlf. both explain *obliqua fronte* as meaning that the Romans pushed forward each extremity of their centre, so as to enclose the projecting curve of the enemy's centre; in other words *obliqua*='concave'. But there is nothing else in the description to suggest that the Romans tried to surround the projecting part of the enemy's line. *impulere* for

which Polybius has διέκοψαν suggests rather the opposite idea. Livy may have understood the passage quoted in the next note as implying that the Roman centre was more advanced than the wings, and *obliqua* may = 'convex'. But there is no word corresponding to it in Polybius' account which in other respects Livy here follows very closely, and the correction though generally accepted is hardly satisfactory.

*acie densa*] Pol. III. 115. 6 πεπυκνωκότες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα, 'having closed up from the wings towards the centre'.

8 *cuneum*] See on 46. 3 *Galli*. *cuncus* is not a very appropriate word as it generally means a deep formation, or a column, while the Gauls and Spaniards were drawn up but few deep. But it is used to indicate the convexity of the formation irrespective of its depth.

9 *a cetera prominentem acie*] This does not mean that the central ranks of the Gauls and Spaniards had other troops behind them, but that they were more advanced than the troops to right and left of them.

10 § 6. *tenore uno*] 'uninterruptedly', 37. 10.

*praeceps*] governs *pavore* and agrees with *agmen*.

11 *mediam primum aciem...postremo subsidia*] These words might seem to imply that the Gauls and Spaniards, like the Romans, were drawn up in three lines one behind the other. This was not the case. *mediam aciem* means the central part of the infantry, that is the Gauls and Spaniards as opposed to the Africans drawn up on either side of them. It represents Polybius' οὐ γὰρ ἅμα σινέβαινε τὰ κέρατα καὶ τὰ μέσα συμπίπτειν ἀλλὰ πρῶτα τὰ μέσα, III. 115. 7. 'The wings and the centre did not give way at the same time, but the centre first', because, he continues, 'the Gauls were drawn up in a crescent with its convex side towards the enemy'. The Africans are called *subsidia* 'reserves', not as implying that they were in the rear of the Gauls and Spaniards but only because the latter were intended to engage with the Romans first. Pol. III. 113. 8 βουλόμενος ἐφεδρείας μὲν τάξιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Αἰθίους αὐτῶν ἔχειν, 'wishing to keep the Africans among the infantry as a reserve line'.

12 *Afrorum*] gen. of that in which the thing consists. Roby § 1302.

13 § 7. *reductis alis*] ablative absolute like *prominente acie*. The Africans themselves constituted the *alae*. 46. 3 *ut Afrorum cornua essent*.

15 § 8. *cuneus*] referring to *cuneus* § 5, § 6 and 7 being merely explanatory.

*aequavit frontem*] 'made the line level'.

16 *sinum dedit*] 'formed a hollow'.

*circa*] 'on either side', often in this incomplete sense. XXI. 25. 2  
*circa Padum.* *ibid.* 43. 4 *circa Padus amnis.*

*cornua fecerant*] i.e. instead of being not so far advanced as their centre they now formed the horns of a crescent in relation to it, while it formed the concave part of the crescent. Plut. *Fabius* 16 ἡ δὲ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μεταβαλοῦσα τὸ σχῆμα μηνροειδὲς ἐγεγόνει.

17 *circumdedere alas*] 'outflanked them'. Polybius adds that the Africans on the right now faced to the left (κλιναντες ἐπ' ἀσπίδα) and those on the left to the right (ἐπὶ δόρυ). Thus they both faced the flanks of the Roman troops between them. III. 115. 10.

18 *et ab tergo*] an exaggeration. Polybius says that they were caught between two forces (μέσους ἀποληφθῆναι) and that they faced right and left and fought against those who were assailing them on either flank (τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων προσπεπτωκότας), III. 115. 12.

20 § 9. *quorum terga ceciderant*] 'in whose rear they had wrought havoc'.

21 *co*] 'from the fact that'. Cf. 34. 5.

#### CHAPTER XLVIII.

24 § 1. *sinistro cornu*] The battle on the Roman left, §§ 1—6. It was going on simultaneously with the engagement on their right. 47. 1—3.

26 *segne*] 'spiritless'. 'The Numidians neither suffered nor inflicted any serious loss but kept the Romans in check (ἀπράκτους)'. Pol. III. 116. 5.

*a...fraude*] 'began with a stratagem on the part of the Carthaginians'.

9. 7 *ab diis orsus*.

27 *fraude*] This stratagem is not mentioned in Polybius; the account of it is probably taken from Coelius. It is given in Appian with some variations.

28 § 2. *arma*] 'armour'.

30 *parmas...habentes*] as a sign that their intentions were peaceful.

32 § 3. *in mediam aciem*] This would naturally mean that the Roman left wing opened their ranks to receive them; but Wölfflin's explanation is probably the right one. In Appian (and presumably in Coelius) the stratagem is carried out by Celtiberians, and the scene is enacted in the centre. The Celtiberi are praised by Servilius and placed in the rear of the centre. Livy substitutes Numidians for Celtiberians and so shifts the scene from the centre to the Roman left wing.

*in mediam aciem* is a fragment of the original account which he has omitted to alter, and means 'into the centre'.

p. 55. 1 *ultimos*] 'the rear ranks'.

3 § 4. *occupaverat*] 'had engrossed', 15. 6.

4 *scutis*] i.e. the large oblong shields carried by the Romans, as opposed to the small round shields (*parmae* § 3) which they had brought with them. They hoped thus to pass as Roman soldiers.

5 *aversam*] sc. 'in the rear'.

8 § 5. *alibi fuga*] on the Roman right. 47. 3.

*alibi...in mala spe proelium*] in the Roman centre. 47. 10.

9 *Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat*] *ea parte* means the Carthaginian right opposed to the Roman left, as distinguished from the Roman right and centre indicated by *alibi...alibi*. That this is meant is further indicated by *segnis pugna*, cf. § 1.

But Hasdrubal had not been placed in command of the Carthaginian right, but Maharbal, 46. 7. What was he doing here? Polybius makes this clear, III. 116. 7. According to him Hasdrubal having cut to pieces the Roman right (*τοὺς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἱππεῖς*: 47. 3) came to the aid of the Numidians fighting against the Roman left. The latter now began to retreat. Accordingly Hasdrubal abandoning the pursuit to the Numidians, whom he saw to be more efficacious than the Spaniards and Gauls when once the enemy had begun to waver, proceeded with the latter to help the Africans attacking the Roman centre in the rear.

This passage accounts for the presence of Hasdrubal on the right wing, and we may infer from the account of his movements on arriving there, that he took over the command from Maharbal.

10 *subductos*] 'withdrawn'. 42. 1.

*ex media acie*] from the centre of the left wing. The expression can only be understood if we suppose that Hasdrubal drew up the Gaulish and Spanish horse to right and left of the Numidians, so that the latter became the *media acies*. Unless indeed it means that he withdrew only a part of the Numidians.

11 *fugientis*] Livy seems to mean that Hasdrubal withdrew the Numidians from the conflict with the Roman left against whose resistance they were making little way (*quia segnis...erat*) and sent them in pursuit of the Roman right which he had routed, 47. 3. But this account is unintelligible. When Hasdrubal turned against the Roman centre there would have been no troops left to fight against the Roman left. Again Polybius says that Hasdrubal had already nearly anni-

hilated the Roman right (ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἱππεῖς πλὴν πάνν ὀλίγων). Livy has misunderstood Polybius. The latter says that on the mere approach of Hannibal the Romans began to retreat (προιδόμενοι τὸν ἔφοδον...ἀπεχώρουν) which Livy does not mention. Accordingly he abandoned the pursuit to the Numidians (τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας παρέδωκε τοῖς Νόμασι). III. 116. 7—8.

- 12 § 6. *Afris*] so Polybius προσπεσὼν τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς στρατοπέδοις κατὰ νώτου...ἐπέρρωσε τοὺς Λίβυας. III. 116. 8.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

- 14 § 1. *parte altera*] the centre, as appears from *Hannibali* § 2, compared with 46. 7. It is called 'the other part' as it was only on the left wing that the Romans still resisted.

*Paulus*] Polybius says that on the defeat of the Roman right (47. 3) Paulus rode up to the centre and engaged with the enemy, III. 116. 3. This may be merely omitted in Livy's account. However, according to another narrative followed by Appian, Paulus had commanded in the centre in the first instance, attended by 1000 horse, and it is probable that Livy has combined this with that of Polybius.

- 15 *fuerat*] for *erat* cf. 23. 3 note.

- 16 § 2. *cum confertis*] 'with a compact body'—of horse. Livy is probably thinking of the 1000 horse which Appian gives Paulus (see preceding note). Polybius says the cavalry on the Roman right had been cut to pieces. Cf. note on 48. 5 *fugientis*.

- 18 *omissis*] 'abandoning'.

- 19 *et*] = *etiam*.

- 20 § 3. *denuntianti*] = *nuntianti*, but with the sense of an important announcement, 38. 6. Madvig *renuntianti*.

- 22 § 4. *quam malle...traderet*] the subject of *traderet* is *consul*. The meaning is—well, I had rather he had handed them over to me bound hand and foot: he might have done so just as well, seeing that they have given up their only means of escape. The view that the words were spoken in earnest, and express a regret at their certain destruction, is not probable.

- 24 *quale*] sc. *esse debuit*, 'such as might have been expected'. C. compares *pugna fuit quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exercitus*, III. 62. 6.

- 25 *in vestigio*] 'where they stood'. XXI. 44. 6 *nusquam te vestigio moveris*. Cf. *in locis* 41. 9.

- 27 § 5. *superantis*] 'surviving'. *superantis* is in apposition to the object which is not expressed.
- 29 *repetebant*] 'recovered'.
- 30 § 6. *praetervehens*] used as though *praetervehor* were not a passive but a deponent, in default of a present passive participle, 'riding by'. Elsewhere Livy expresses this by *praevehi*. Except in this passage *praetervehi* = 'to sail by'.
- 31 *oppletum*] = *perfusum*. Archaistic.
- 32 § 7. *insontem cladis*] 44. 7 *exsors culpa*.
- p. 56. 1 *respicere*] 'to look on with favour'. Verg. *E.* 1. 28 *libertas quae sera tamen respexit inertem*.
- 5 § 9. *macte*] root *mak*, cf. *μάκαρ*, probably a participle from an extinct verb *mago* = *augeo*. It is a vocative used as nom., with imperative as here, or without. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1X. 641 *macte nova virtute puer*. It does not vary with the construction. II. 12. 14 *inberem te macte virtute esse*. *virtute* is abl. of cause.
- 7 § 10. *publice patribus*] 'To the senate as a body'. 22. 13 *et privatim parentibus...et publice populis gratum erit*.
- 8 *priusquam advenit*] This is quite regular, being an instance of the indic. present used to express an action about to be commenced. E.g. *nunc redeo ad inceptum*. Sall. *Jug.* 4. Roby § 1462. 50. 8.
- 9 *privatim*] 'personally'.
- 10 *et vixisse...et mori*] 'died as he had ever lived'.
- § 11. *in strage...expirare*] cf. Hor. *C.* 1. 12. 38 *animaeque magnae prodigum Poeno superante Paulum*.
- 11 *reus iterum*] cf. 40. 3.
- ε] 'in consequence of'. *ex comparatione* 8. 2.
- 12 *existam*] 'come forward'.
- alieno crimine*] *alium criminando*. Cf. *dictatoria invidia* 26. 4.
- 13 § 12. *eos agentis*] *P exigentes*. The pronoun is generally omitted with the participle when the persons have been distinctly indicated before, but this is not the case here.
- 14 *oppressere*] 'came upon them'.
- 18 § 13. *Cannas*] but according to 43. 9 Hannibal's camp was in the immediate neighbourhood of this place. Livy has omitted to mention that Hannibal shifted his camp to the left bank of the river some days before the battle. See App. IV.
- Carthalone*] cf. 15. 8.
- 20 § 14. *alter*] Varro.
- 21 *insertus*] 'joining', a correction for *P infestus*.



*quingquaginta*] Polybius says 70. Plut. *Fabius* 16 ὀλιγοστός ἀφίππευσεν.

*Venusiam*] past Canusium, and 28 miles from the scene of battle. Venusia was on the borders of Lucania and Apulia. It was a Roman colony, founded 291 B.C. at the close of the third Samnite war, and was afterwards famous as the birthplace of Horace.

22 § 15. *quadraginta quinque milia*] To these 48,200 must be added 4,500 captured in the battle, 6,400 taken in the smaller camp, 52. 2, 49. 13, 50. 11, and 6,400 in the larger, 49. 13, 52. 4. 14,500 are mentioned as escaping, 54. 1 and 4. The total number of the army according to 36 was 87,200. Polybius with less probability says that 70,000 (III. 117. 4) were killed out of a total roughly given as 80,000 (III. 113. 5).

23 *tantadem*] 'equally large'. This is Madvig's conjecture for *tanta tantusdem* is used once in Plautus, and in the *Digest*. *Tantidem* (at the same price) and *tantundem* occur in classical Latin.

24 § 16. *L. Atilius*] not the consul of 217 whose praenomen was Marcus. 40. 6.

25 *tribuni militum*] legionary officers, 6 to the legion.

26 *quidam*] sc. *ex tribunis militum*.

29 § 17. *eos*] sc. the curule magistracies. By the Lex Ovinia, date uncertain, but perhaps soon after 367 B.C.: see on 34. 1, *patrum*.

## CHAPTER L.

p. 57. 1 § 1. *Aliensi*] The defeat of the Romans by the Gauls on the Alia 390 B.C. which was followed by the occupation of the whole of Rome except the Capitol.

*nobilitate*] cf. 43. 9 *nobilitandas*.

3 § 2. *quia...cessatum*] 'because of the enemy's inaction'.

4 § 3. *fuga ad Aliam*] 7. 1 *ad Trasumennum pugna*.

*namque*] in prose of the next period always the first word in the sentence.

6 *ad Cannas*] not, of course, with *fugientem*.

*quingquaginta*] 49. 14, he was joined by a larger number afterwards,

54. 1.

7 *alterius*] lit. 'belonged to the other', i.e. shared the fate of the other.

XXI. 11. 1 *totus prope senatus Hannibalis fuit*, 'was with Hannibal'.

9 § 4. *binis*] 44. 1.

11 *mittunt*] to those in the smaller camp.

- ex laetitia*] attributively with *epulis*, 'feasts of triumph'.
- 13 *Canusium*] five miles from the battle-field to the S.W.  
*abitueros*] *se* is omitted as in 37. 7.
- 14 *alii*] of those in the smaller camp.
- 15 § 5. *venire*] in or. *recta veniunt*.  
*coniungi*] sc. *sibi*.
- 18 § 6. *P. Sempronius*] adversative asyndeton. According to Appian (*Ann.* 26) he was chosen commander of the larger camp.
- 20 *aestimari capita et exquiri pretia*] 'to have a price set upon your heads, and your ransoms ascertained'.
- 22 *Latinus socius*] we should have expected *socius* alone, for the Latin allies or *nomen Latinum* were a particular class of allies (see on 7. 5), while the question here was between the Romans on one side and the allies on the other, for the former were assessed at 400 denarii, the latter at 200, 52. 3. But *Latinus* is inserted to balance *Romanus*, and thus the clause gives merely a specimen of the cases which would arise. However *nomen Latinum* is used incorrectly to indicate the allies in general, 7. 5.
- 23 § 7. *non tu*] sc. *malis*.  
*sc*] with *nolo*, *volo* and some other verbs of wishing an acc. (of the pronoun) with infin. is sometimes used instead of the simple infinitive. Madvig, *Lat. G.* § 399, 4.
- 25 *cives*] = *concives*.
- 26 § 8. *opprimi*] sc. *nos*, 'surprises us'. The pres. indic. is not incorrect, cf. 49. 10; but of events in the future, especially when there is an idea of prevention as here, the subjunctive is more usual with *antequam*. Cf. 39. 10.
- 27 *inordinati*] 'not in their ranks'.  
*inconpositi*] 'not in their divisions'.
- 28 § 9. *fit*] the sentiment is general, 'can be made'.  
*quamvis per confertos*] = *per quamvis confertos*, 'no matter how dense they be'.
- 29 *quidem*] strengthens *cunco*, 'while with a column' etc. XXI. 30. 7  
*nullas profecto terras inexcuperabilis humano generi esse: Alpes quidem habitari*.
- 30 *ut si*] = *velut si* which is more usual.
- 32 § 10. *hæc ubi dicta dedit*] A phrase common in Vergil. The hexameter and a half probably come from Ennius through Coelius.
- p. 58. 1 § 11. *latus dextrum*] The smaller Roman camp must have been either W. of the Carthaginians on the left bank of the river, or

E. of them on the right bank, for the battle was fought on the same bank as that on which the smaller camp was situated, and in the battle the Romans rested their right on the river. Now if the small camp was W. of the Carthaginians and on the right bank troops leaving it would have exposed their left flank to the enemy in crossing to the larger camp. This looks as if Livy thought the battle was fought on the left bank contrary to the view taken in Appendix IV. q.v. But Livy's narrative is not consistent.

- 3 *ad sescentos*] see on 41. 2 *ad mille et septingenti*.  
*inde*] with *adiuncto*, when *protinus* is best rendered 'on their way'  
 as in 42. 3; or with *pervenerunt*, *protinus* meaning 'straight on'.  
*alio agmine*] the same as *agmine* mentioned in 52. 4.  
 5 § 12. *impetu animorum*] 'the impulse of that courage' etc.

## CHAPTER LI.

- 9 § 1. *bello*] used instead of *pugna* because this victory had practically brought the war to an end.  
*diei...quietem*] The obvious rendering is the best, 'the remainder of the day and their repose of the following night'.  
 12 § 2. *Maharbal*] Gellius x. 24. 6 gives the same story as *Coelianum illud*. *Si vis mihi equitatum dare et ipse cum cetero exercitu me sequi die quinti Romae in Capitolio curabo tibi cena sit cocta*. Coelius, he adds, took it from Cato's *Origines*. Livy probably took it from Coelius.  
 15 *venisse*] sc. *te*, suggested by *sequere*.  
 16 § 3. *res*] sc. 'the idea' i.e. of such a rapid termination to the war. *statim* is the emphatic word.  
 19 *temporis*] the gen. with *opus esse* is found once again in Livy, XXIII. 21. 5. It is a Graecism. Cf. *δεῖ πολὺν χρόνον*.  
 § 4. *nimirum*] = *ne mirum (sit)*, for *ni* or *nei* = *ne*; not so strong as *mirum ni* (= *nisi*). 'Of a truth'.  
 21 *satis creditur*] 'it is generally believed'. This was a favourite topic for rhetorical disputation. Juv. VII. 163 *an petat urbem a Cannis*. Yet it is doubtful whether Hannibal could have taken Rome, cf. 9. 2. Maharbal could certainly not have done so. Mommsen says, 'This unexampled success appeared at length to mature the great political combination for the sake of which Hannibal had come to Italy'. The news of the victory reduced the peace party at home to silence. Men and money were sent from Carthage. Philip of Macedon and Hieronymus the new king of Syracuse joined the Carthaginian alliance. Capua,

several communities in central Italy and all lower Italy passed over to the side of Hannibal, cc. 19—22. Hannibal had reason to wait.

23 § 5. *focdam*] 'woeful', 3. 1.

24 *stragem*] concrete, 'scene of slaughter'.

*insistunt*] elsewhere *insistere* is used with the dative (47. 6) or the infinitive. Madvig accordingly reads *exeunt*, but without support from the MSS.

25 § 6. *ut quem*] = *ut quemque*; *que* in *cuique* doing double duty.

27 *stricta*] 'drawn together', 'closed'. Then *excitaverant* = 'had revived', sc. by staunching the blood. *stricta* may however mean 'touched' and therefore 'smarting'. Then *excitaverant* = 'had roused from their unconsciousness'.

p. 59. 1 § 7. *haurire*] 'to shed', a poetical use of the word. Tacitus has *ingulum hausisse*, *H.* 1. 41. But here *haurire* belongs only to *sanguinem*.

§ 8. *mersis*] 'thrust'.

3 *interclusisse spiritum*] sc. 'had suffocated themselves'. *cum (imber) spiritum includeret* XXI. 58. 4, means only, 'rendered respiration difficult'.

4 § 9. *convertit omnes*] sc. *in se*, 'attracted the attention of all'. XXI. 111. 4 *cum admiratione...in se omnes convertisset*.

*superincubanti*] the word occurs here only.

7 *laniando*] 'while he tore'. Cf. 3. 10 for the use of the abl. of the gerund = a present participle.

*expirasset*] *Romanus*.

## CHAPTER LII.

8 § 1. *ducit*] sc. *exercitum*. Cf. 1. 1 note.

9 *brachio*] a line of earthworks. Hirtius, *Bell. Hispan.* 5 *ut cum ab oppido excluderet brachium ad pontem ducere coepit* (C.).

10 *flumine*] the Aufidus. The object was to prevent their getting water. 59. 5 *cum aqua arceremur*.

§ 2. *ab omnibus...fessis*] This means that all joined in making the surrender, *omnibus fessis* would only give the reason for the surrender.

12 § 3. *pacti* (from *paciscor*) with *trecentis nummis*, lit. 'having covenanted (for their safety) at the price of' etc. Cf. XXI. 61. 11 *viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. ut traderent = ita ut traderent*, adds a condition of the agreement. Cf. 43. 4; 5. 7 note.

13 *in capita Romana*] 'for every Roman'. So *in socios*, 23. 6 *in militem*.

- 14 *nummis quadrigatis*] silver denarii ( $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ ), so called because they were stamped with a representation of Jupiter in a four-horse chariot; 300=£10. 12s. 6d. The price per man had risen since 217 B.C. Cf. 23. 6 note.
- 15 *et ut*] depending on *pacti*. XXXIV. 29. 12 *pactus ut abducere milites liceret*.
- 16 *singulis*] besides what they had on, 'a single change of raiment', 6. 11.
- 17 *seorsum*] = *seorsum* 'separately'. So *prorsum* = *proversum*.
- 20 § 4. *hominum*] = *peditum*, as opposed to *equites*. XXI. 27. 1 *equites virique*. *ad* with *milia* alone. The number of cavalry is given accurately. Cf. *ad sescentos* 50. 11.
- 23 *tradita*] Polybius who says nothing about the capture of the smaller camp gives a different account of the capture of the larger. Paulus left 10,000 men in his camp who were to attack that of Hannibal during the battle. They were on the point of taking it when Hannibal returned and drove them back to their own camp. There 2000 of them were slain and the remainder taken prisoners, III. 117. 11.
- 24 § 5. *si quid*] sc. *erat*.
- 25 *phaleris*] 'trappings', bosses affixed to the bridle, head-stall, etc. *ad vescendum facto*] sc. 'plate for the table', *argentum mensarium*. *facto* = 'worked'.
- 26 *utique*] = *saltem*, 7. 11; 23. 3. *omnis cetera*] elsewhere the order is *cetera omnis*.
- 27 § 6. *sepeliendi*] not passive, the object is not expressed. Roby, *Intro.* LXIV. b.
- 28 *octo milia*] Polybius says 4000 Gauls, 1500 Spaniards and Africans and 200 horse. Cf. 49. 15 note.
- 29 *consulem*] Cf. 7. 5 note.
- 33 § 7. *Busa*] The name Busidius has been found on a stone at Canusium.

## CHAPTER LIII.

- p. 60. 4 § 2. *de legione prima*] *de* with abl. is often used in this connection instead of the genitive. From this and similar uses *de* (or *di*) became the sign of the genitive in the Romance languages.
- 10 § 3. *adulescentem*] 19. In the account of the engagement at Ticinus in 218 B.C. he is described as 17, XXI. 46. 7. *summa imperii*] of course only at Canusium in the absence of Varro at Venusia, 54. 1.

- 11 § 4. *inter paucos*] 'with a few others'.  
 12 *summa rerum*] 'the general condition of affairs'.  
 13 *perditam spem fovere*] a short way of expressing 'it was in vain that they cherished hope, as all hope was lost'. Cf. XXI. 12. 3 *temptata est exigua spes pacis*.  
*desperatam conploratamque*] i.e. 'given up', as though by the physicians, and 'mourned for', as though already dead, 55. 3.  
 14 *rem esse publicam*] II. 1 *reque de publica*.  
 15 § 5. *quorum principem*] sc. *esse*. The acc. with infin. is used instead of *sit* because *quorum*=*et eorum*. It is possible however, though not likely, that *quorum principem* (which=*et eorum principem*) has the same verb as *invenies*. Cf. IV. 43. 6 *aliae, inter quas et agrariae legis, seditiosae actiones existunt*.  
 16 *spectare*] sc. 'were thinking of taking to'.  
*regum*] as Philip of Macedon or Ptolemy king of Egypt, to offer their services as mercenaries.  
 17 § 6. *praeterquam*] for *praeterquam quod erat*, 'besides being terrible', XXVI. 13. 14 *effugere morte praeterquam honesta etiam leni possum*.  
 18 *stupore ac miraculo*] depending on *torpidos*, best taken as a hendiadys, 'by stupefaction at this strange proposal'. In no case does *miraculum*='astonishment'.  
 20 *consilii rem*] 'matter for a council'.  
*fatalis*] 'predestined'. XXX. 28. 1 *velut fatalem eum...ducem horrebant*.  
 23 § 8. *nulla verius...hostium castra esse*] 'no camp is more truly a camp of the enemy than that in which etc.' P has *nullo*. The true reading may possibly be *nullo in loco* which would correspond more closely with *ubi*. For *verius* cf. 19. 11.  
*ea*] = *talia*.  
 24 § 9. *pergit*] of prompt or energetic action, 19. 4, 'he went straight to' etc.  
*hospitium*] 'lodging'.  
 27 § 10. *ex mei animi sententia*] a common formula in oaths and declarations, 'to the best of my knowledge and belief'; here 'solemnly'. *quod ex tui animi sententia iuraris, id non facere periurium est*, Cic. *De off.* III. 29. 108. There is an ellipse of *iuro*.  
*ut*] *ita me di ament*, 'so help me heaven', which corresponds to *ut...non deseram*, is omitted. C. compares the inscription *ex mei animi sententia ut ego iis inimicus ero quos C. Caesari Germanico inimicos esse cognovero*. Cf. the use of *sic* in prayers

*sic tibi Cynacas fugiant examina taxos,  
incipere si quid habes.* Verg. *E.* IX. 30.

28 *neque*] still part of the protasis. The apodosis is omitted, see preceding note.

29 § 11. *sciens*] 'wittingly', 10. 5, he has sworn 'to the best of his knowledge'.

*fallo*] absolute, 'break my word'.

30 § 12. *in hac verba*] 'in this form'. Cf. 10. 5 note.

31 *iures*] for the omission of *ut* cf. 3. 13 *nuntia effodiant signum*.

p. 61. 2 *custodiendos*] 52. 3 *traditi in custodiam*.

#### CHAPTER LIV.

3 § 1. *Venusiam*] Varro had fled thither after the battle with some  
50 horsemen, 49. 14.

4 *ad*] used adverbially. Cf. 52. 4.

5 *fuerant*] for *erant*. Cf. 23. 3. Introd. II.

6 § 2. *per familias*] 'among various households'.

8 *togas et tunicas*] sc. *singulas*. Cf. the use of *milia* = *singula milia*, 36. 3, i.e. an outer and an inner garment. The *toga* was the garb of the civilian, 33. 3. It was probably worn on garrison duty and in winter-quarters by officers and *equites* only. Thus in XXIX. 36. 2 only 1200 *togae* are sent to the army but 12,000 *tunicae*.

9 *quadrigatos nummos*] 52. 3 note.

11 § 3. *publice...privatim*] 'by the town'... 'by individual citizens', 49. 10.

12 *muliere Canusina*] 52. 7.

13 § 4. *gravius*] i.e. than that borne by the people of Venusia, or better, 'constantly heavier'; this suits the imperfect better.

*et*] introducing an explanation of *multitudo*, 'and indeed'.

*decem milia*] Others then must have come besides the 600 from the smaller camp 50. 11, and the 4200 from the larger camp 52. 4.

17 § 5. *sciscitatum*] supine, corresponding in sense with *nuntium mittunt* which = *aliquem mittunt nuntiatum*.

19 § 6. *consularis exercitus*] about two legions. These were what are afterwards alluded to as the *Cannenses legiones*, which were kept on garrison duty in Sicily during the remainder of the war by way of punishment.

23 § 7. *occidione occisum*] 'utterly destroyed'. A common phrase in Livy. So XXIX. 27. 3 *auctibus augere*. Compare such Hebraisms as



'Thou hast led captivity captive', or ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα, St Luke xxii. 15.

24 *fuerat*] for *erat* as in § 1.

25 § 8. *salva urbe*] 'while the city was still safe'. The words exclude the disaster on the Alia, 50. 1.

27 *edissertando*] 'by a detailed account'. *Edissertare* is a Plautine word. Livy generally uses *edisserere* like Cicero.

§ 9. *consule...amisso*] These words are contrasted with *cum duobus...amissi*, 'In the preceding year one consul and his army had been lost at Trasimene, but now etc.'

28 *non vulnus super vulnus*] as would have been the case if a new disaster of no greater magnitude than that of Trasimene had been announced.

29 *multiplex*] 'far greater'. Cf. *multiplicati* 36. 1. Not 'many times as great', for it was only twice as great according to the method of reckoning adopted.

30 *exercitus amissi*] in apposition to *multiplex clades*, 'The loss of two armies'. 36. 6 *propter territos homines*.

*nec...esse*] depending on *nuntiabatur* supplied from *nuntiabantur*.

31 § 10. *Hannibalis factam*] 14. 6 *Numidarum...iam factam*.

p. 62. 1 *perfecto*] 'assuredly'.

*mole cladis*] *mole* indicates difficulty, 9. 2, or weight. The expression is stronger than *tam gravi clade*. 'A crushing defeat'.

2 § 11. *comparēs*] The subjunctive is potential, 'one might compare with them'. P *comparasset* for which Madvig reads *comparēs scilicet*, against C and M.

*cladem*] with *Carthaginiensium*.

*Aegatis insulas*] The victory of C. Lutatius Catulus in 241 B.C. which brought the First Punic war to a close.

4 *Sardinia*] This is inaccurate. Sicily was ceded on the conclusion of the war, with an indemnity of 3200 talents. In 238 B.C. the Romans, taking advantage of a revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia, demanded the surrender of that island with a further indemnity of 1200 talents. The Carthaginians were unable to refuse the request.

*vectigalis ac stipendiarios*] The former is used especially of those who paid amounts proportionate to the produce of the land, the latter of those who paid a fixed amount. The distinction is sometimes disregarded as in XXXIII. 47. 2, where the Carthaginian indemnity is called *vectigal*. If this is the case here both words express the same

idea. Otherwise *vectigalis* is historically inaccurate; for the Carthaginians paid the Romans no taxes, only the indemnity referred to in the preceding note.

5 *pugnam...in Africa*] the battle of Zama 202 B.C. in which Hannibal was defeated by Scipio, *fatalis dux huius belli* 53. 6.

6 *nulla*] there is an adversative asyndeton, as the words contain the answer to *compares*.

*comparandae*] 'comparable'. In negative and quasi-negative sentences the gerundive sometimes has the meaning of possibility rather than of obligation. Roby § 1403. Tibullus, IV. 4. 2 *votaque pro domina vir numeranda facit*.

#### CHAPTER LV.

8 § 1. *Philus...Pomponius*] 35. 5.

10 § 2. *dubitabant...venturum*] Livy often uses *dubitare* with the acc. and infinitive. In Caesar and Cicero it is followed by *quin*.

14 § 3. *ne consilium quidem*] They could not even form a plan, much less take any action.

*expedirent*] properly to extricate, as though from the confusion around them. 4. 7 *arma expediri*.

15 *obstreperet*] sc. *consultantibus*, 'deafened'. Cf. 14. 8.

*nondum palam facto*] sc. *qui vivi qui mortui essent*, 'as the truth was not yet published'. Cf. *inexplorato* 4. 4 note.

18 § 4. *Appia via*] 1. 12 note.

*Latina*] 12. 2 note.

19 *obvios*] = *qui obvii essent*, 7. 11.

*profecto...fore*] The reading of C<sup>2</sup> for P, C *profectos...forte*. *profecto* here, as often, is best rendered by 'must'. D. compares XXVI.

15. 13 *cum negaret...profecto satis compotem mentis esse*, 'when he said that he *must* certainly be out of his mind'.

20 *referant*] after *censuit* one would have expected *referrent*; but Livy often prefers primary to secondary sequences for the sake of vividness.

21 § 5. *relicum...fecerint*] 'have allowed to survive'.

25 § 6. *illud*] explained by *ut...tollant...arceant* etc. 'the other task, that of calming the tumult' etc.

*ipsos*] explained by *quoniam...sit*.

*magistratum parum*] 16. 4 *tantum sociorum*. The absence of the only surviving consul is referred to.

27 *publico*] properly *loco*: sc. 'from appearing in public'.

30 § 7. *suae...expectet*] There is a sudden change of subject. This clause refers to the people generally, not to the praetors.

*fortunae...auctorem*] *auctor* = 'informant'. Ov. *Mt.* XI. 666 *non haec tibi nuntiat auctor ambiguus*. 'The bearer of tidings affecting themselves'. 24. II *auctores sunt*.

31 § 8. *ponant*] the subject is *praetores* again.

p. 63. 2 *recte*] probably due to a repetition of the last part of the preceding word.

*revocandos*] The senators were to restore order before deliberating on the situation.

## CHAPTER LVI.

4 § 1. *in hanc sententiam...issent*] 'had voted for this motion'. Questions in the Senate were decided by a division (*discessio*). The presiding magistrate used the following form, *Qui haec sentitis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite qua sentitis*, Plin. *Ep.* VIII. 14. 9.

*pedibus*] indicating that they voted 'without discussion'. Thus those senators who were not qualified to speak in the Senate (*qui non rogabantur sententiam*) were called *pedarii* (*quia pedibus in sententiam ibant*).

*submota*] the technical term for the removal of a crowd by the lictors. III. 48. 3 *i, lictor, submove turbam*. So *submoto* 'after room had been made', XXVIII. 37. 15.

5 *diversi*] 'in different directions', adj. for adv. as in 32. 2 *opportuni adcrant*.

6 *tum demum*] cf. 13. 8 note. Dio says Varro sent neither message nor messenger immediately after the defeat.

7 *litterae*] especially of an official communication, 'a despatch', 33. 9.

9 § 2. *reliquias cladis*] 'survivors from the disaster'. Cf. Verg. *A. I.* 30 *Troas, reliquias Danaum*.

11 *decem milia*] But there were already 10,000 men at Canusium, 54. 4, without counting the 4500, 54. 1, whom Varro subsequently brought there, 54. 6. D. suggests *quindecim millia*.

*inconpositorum inordinatorum*] not yet organised in centuries, maniples and legions. For *ordines* cf. 50. 8. In 50. 8 these words only refer to temporary disorder.

12 § 3. *in*] in the matter of, 'about'.

14 *nundinantem*] properly 'marketing', in a contemptuous sense 'haggling'. Cf. Ennius' line *non cauponantes bellum* (making a traffic of war) *sed belligerantes*. Cic. *Off.* I. 38. *nundinari* may govern an acc. *n. senatorium nomen* Cic. *Verr.* II. 2. 122. This is an emendation for P *nuntiantem*.

§ 4. *per domos*] 'from house to house'.

15 *opplevit*] an archaistic compound. 49. 6.

16 *sacrum...Cereris*] not the regular Cerealia as these were celebrated in April, while the battle of Cannae was fought in June.

*intermissum sit*] the perfect subjunctive though a secondary tense has preceded, as often in Livy. See on 5. 8 *senserit*.

*nec lugentibus*] it was a joyful ceremony, and was performed by matrons in white garments who enacted the search for and discovery of Proserpina by Ceres.

17 *tempestate*] slightly more emphatic than *tempore*.

18 *expers fuerat*] 'had not been plunged in grief', i.e. when it was desired to celebrate the festival. 'Could be found who had escaped bereavement'.

19 § 5. *desererentur*] 'should be neglected'.

20 *diebus triginta*] 'to thirty days', lit. by thirty days, thirty days being made the limit of the mourning. Generally mourning for parents or children lasted a year.

22 § 6. *litterae*] as in § 1.

*Otacilio*] 31. 6.

23 *Hieronis*] 37. 1 note.

25 § 7. *stare*] 'were lying at anchor'. Verg. *A.* VI. 902 *stant litore puppes*.

26 § 8. *se*] Otacilius, the logical subject of the whole sentence which depends on 'Otacilius wrote'.

27 *aliam*] = *reliquam*. Cf. 4. 7 note, II. 9 etc. Since the close of the First Punic war the Romans had held the Western portion of the island of which the chief town was Lilybaeum, while the Eastern and smaller portion remained in the hands of Hiero king of Syracuse.

28 *classe*] besides that which he himself already commanded.

## CHAPTER LVII.

30 § 1. *praetoris*] more correctly *propraetoris* as in 56. 6, for Otacilius had been praetor in the preceding year, 37. 13.

31 *M. Claudium*] *Marcellum*, 35. 6. One of the most vigorous and successful of the Roman commanders. In 222 B.C. he brought the

Insubrian War to a close and slew Viridomarus with his own hand, thus gaining the *spolia opima* for the third and last time in Roman history. In 215 B.C. he repulsed Hannibal before Nola. In 212 B.C. he took Syracuse. But in 208 he was surprised by a body of Numidians and slain.

*classi*] probably the fleet mentioned in 31. 5.

32 *praesset*] the subjunctive, because it forms part of the resolution.

p. 64. 2 *primo quoque tempore*] 'at the very first opportunity'. XLII.

10. 5 *Latinis feriis in primam quamque diem indictis*.

3 *per commodum* etc.] 'in so far as the interests of the State allowed'. *per*, as in 21. 1 *fuisseque (quietum) per Poenum hostem*. This is more likely than that *per* indicates the manner as in 29. 7 etc. and that *per commodum* = 'conveniently'.

4 § 2. *super*] = *praeter*. XXI. 46. 1 *super cetera*, lit. 'on the top of'. Cf. 3. 14 *superquam quod*.

6 *Vestales*] They were at this time six in number, taken from the noblest families. Their duty was to keep alive the sacred fire in the temple of Vesta in the Forum. Their conduct was subject to strict supervision from the *pontifex maximus*. The punishment for neglecting the sacred fire was scourging, for in chastity death, in the manner here described.

7 *stupri confertae*] an extension of the use of the genitive expressing the charge. Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 52 *manifesti rerum capitalium*.

*et*] what follows is merely parenthetical. Of course the Romans were terrified at the crime of the Vestals, not at its punishment.

8 *Collinam*] so called because it stood on the Quirinal, which was known as *Collis* not *mons*.

*necata*] i.e. buried alive.

10 § 3. *quos*] sc. *scribas*. A *constructio ad sensum*, as if *unus e pontificis scribis* had preceded. XXVII. 11. 3 *infantem quos androgynos vulgus...appellat*. C.

*minores pontifices*] We know no more of these than that there were three of them, forming a *collegium*. Macrobius describes them as observing the moon in order to report to the *rex sacrificulus*, in connexion with keeping the calendar.

12 *comitio*] see on 7. 7.

13 § 4. *hoc nefas*] the guilt of the Vestals.

14 § 5. *decemviri libros*] see on 1. 16.

15 *Fabius Pictor*] cf. 7. 4 and Introd. I.

*Delphos ad oraculum*] 54. 1 *Venusiam ad consulem*. The answer, L. XXII.

mentioned in XXIII. 11. 1, was that if the Romans performed certain ceremonies which were prescribed *victoria duelli populi Romani erit*.

16 *supplicii*] = *supplicationibus*, archaic.

18 § 6. *fatalibus*] sc. the Sibylline books.

20 *foro bovario*] on the edge of the Velabrum, near the Circus Maximus.

21 *minime Romano*] The Sibylline books which prescribed the sacrifice were of Greek origin; still the stories of the self-devotion of Curtius and the two Decii, and the old Latin custom of the *ver sacrum* (see on 9. 10) probably indicate that human sacrifices were anciently offered in Italy.

24 § 7. *scriptos habebat*] not = *scripserat*, 'had with him already enrolled'.

*urbi praesidio*] there was already a garrison there, 11. 9.

25 § 8. *tertia*] but the third legion belonged to the land forces and had fought at Cannae, 53. 2. Either *tertia* refers to a fresh enumeration of the forces, or Livy is using a different authority from that which he there follows.

26 *Teanum Sidicinum*] so called to distinguish it from Teanum in Apulia. It commanded the Latin road at the point where it entered Campania.

27 *Philo*] *praetor urbanus*, 35. 5.

28 § 9. *ex auctoritate patrum*] the Senate, that is, resolved to communicate with Varro asking him to appoint a dictator.

29 *dictus*] by the consul. Apparently Varro also appointed the master of the horse. This was usually done by the dictator. Cf. 33. 11.

30 *iuniores*] those between 17 and 46.

*ab*] i.e. those of 17 and upwards.

31 *praetextatos*] boys under 17, who still wore the *toga praetexta* (a robe with a purple border). At 17 the *toga virilis* was assumed.

32 § 10. *effecti*] 16. 8.

*Latinum nomen*] see on 7. 5.

p. 65. 1 *ex formula*] 'in accordance with the terms of their treaties with Rome'.

*arma, tela, alia*] asyndeton enumerativum is frequent in business details. C. *arma* = defensive, *tela* = offensive weapons.

3 § 11. *formam*] 'kind'. P has *alia formam*, for which *aliam formam* is generally read.

5 *servitiis*] abstract for concrete.

*vellentne*] hence Livy speaks of the latter as *volones* volunteers, XXIII. 35. 7. Roman citizens were of course bound to serve.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

- 8 § 1. *ad Cannas pugnam*] 7. 1.
- 11 § 2. *Trebiam Trasumennumque*] Livy did not mention that this was done after the battle of Trebia. For Trasumene cf. 7. 5.
- 12 *sine pretio*] in 52. 3 it is stated that the ransom for each ally had been fixed at 200 denarii.
- 14 *quod*] sc. *fecerat*.
- 15 *de dignitate*] sc. only for honour.
- certare*] sc. *se*, cf. 34. 7.
- 16 § 3. *et...et*] 'as...so'. *Romanae* and *suae* are the emphatic words.
- 17 *id adniti ut*] perhaps on the analogy of *id agere ut*. *adniti* governs an accusative (of the pronoun) only in this conjunction.
- 19 § 4. *in capita*] 'per head'. 52. 3 *in capita Romana*.
- 20 § 5. *aliquantum*] 'a considerable amount'. According to 52. 3 it was arranged that all the Roman troops horse and foot alike were to pay 300 denarii.
- 21 *equitibus*] dat. *incommodi*.
- quo*] abl. of price, like *nummis* in 52. 3.
- pepigerant*] absolute 'had made agreement', sc. for their release. W. compares Plaut. *Bacch.* 879 *ducentis Philippis pepigi*. *pepigi* is generally used as the perf. of *paciscor*, instead of *pactus sum* (but cf. 59. 6) which is rare.
- 22 *quancumque*] Without a verb *quicumque* has the sense of *quivis* or *quilibet*. But in Cic. Sall. Caes. it is used thus only in the ablative. *quacumque de re*, Cic. *Ep. Q. F.* 11. 8. 1. *quocumque modo*, Sall. *Ing.* 103.
- 25 § 7. *Carthalo*] 15. 8; 49. 13.
- 28 § 8. *minime Romani ingenii*] 'no true Roman'; *vir ac vere Romanus* 14. 11; for *minime* cf. 57. 6.
- 31 § 9. *dictatoris verbis*] 'in the name of the dictator'.

## CHAPTER LIX.

- p. 66. 1 § 1. *senatus datus est*] 'an audience in the Senate was given them'.
- 2 *patres conscripti*] This has been explained as standing for *patres et conscripti* referring to the original patrician members of the Senate. and the plebeian members afterwards added to their number. But the meaning is simply, 'fathers on the roll of the Senate'.



- 4 *viliores*] cf. 60. 7. But the statement can hardly be reconciled with §§ 7, 18.
- 5 § 2. *ceterum*] adversative, 1. 4 note.  
*nisi...causa*] 'unless we think better of our case than we ought to think'.  
*plus iusto*] a compendious expression like *maturior spe* 52. 2.
- 6 *minus neglegendi*] = *qui minus neglegendi sunt*.
- 8 § 3. *per*] expressing the cause. In 29. 7 it expresses the manner.
- 13 § 5. *victore*] used adjectivally.  
*aqua arceremur*] 52. 1.
- 14 *confertos*] an exaggeration, see 50. 9.
- 15 *quingenta milibus*] in round numbers. The number of those who fell on the field is given more accurately in 49. 15.
- 16 *aliquem...militem*] *aliquem* is emphatic. *militem* is used collectively, 'that *some* soldiers should survive'.
- 19 § 7. *acceperamus*] the pluperfect because the time of the surrender is referred to.  
*a Gallis auro*] After the battle of the Alia and the capture of Rome in 390 B.C. According to the story the transaction was interrupted by the appearance of Camillus.
- 20 *illos*] lit. 'those well known'. Cf. 5. 7. The meaning here is 'as is well known'.  
*ad*] 'as regards'. Ter. *Ad*. v. 3. 45 *ad omnia alia aetate sapimus rectius*.
- 21 *tamen*] as if *quamvis* had preceded.
- 22 *misisse*] referring to the embassy, of which Fabricius was the head, sent to Pyrrhus after the battle of Heraclea, or to exchange or ransom prisoners. This was in 280 B.C., more than 66 years earlier, so the senators who sent it could hardly be the fathers of those now addressed.  
 § 8. *et...et...utraque*] 'both battles, both that at the Alia and that at Heraclea'.
- 24 *pavore*] an exaggeration as regards the battle of Heraclea, at which the Romans inflicted a loss of 7000 men on the enemy. However this defeat was due in part to their fear of Pyrrhus' elephants to which they were then opposed for the first time.
- 25 *nec...nisi in quibus*] 'and only those of us survive whom' etc.
- 27 § 9. *fuere*] Madvig's correction for P *refugerunt* which does not go well with *in acie*.
- 28 *praesidio relictis*] Livy has not mentioned this before. From 52. 2 and 4 the only occupants of the two camps seem to be the fugitives

from the battle. Polybius III. 117. 8 says that Aemilius left 10,000 men in his camp and does not mention the fugitives.

30 § 10. *premendo*] 'depreciating'. 12. 12 *premendo superiorem*.

31 *ne illi quidem*] 'and yet even they could not' etc.

32 *qui plerique*] 'most of whom'.

p. 67. 1 *prius quam*] *constiterunt* must strictly speaking be supplied after *quam*, 'who did not stop till (they did so) at Venusia'.

2 *practulerint*] the hypothetical subjunctive, 'nor could they prefer themselves to us'. Cf. IX. 24. 7 *hoc quidem adscensu vel tres armati quamlibet multitudinem arcuerint*. Roby § 1540.

4 § 11. *utemini*] with *bonis* and *fortibus*, 'you will find them good and brave soldiers'.

*promptioribus quod...fucrimus*] 'the more zealous for having been restored'.

7 § 12. *fortuna*] 'position'. For the statement cf. 57. 9—11.

9 *emuntur*] by the State from their owners.

*nam*] a sentence is left unexpressed. 'I compare only our cost and not our worth with those of the slaves'.

11 § 13. *censeam*] the subjunctive expresses a modest statement, 'I venture to think'.

12 *si iam*] 'even if'. XXI. 47. 5 *ut iam Hispanos inflati transvexerint utres*.

*faciatis*] not quite correctly used, for *quod* = *duriores esse*.

13 *cui hosti*] the clause depends on *animadvertendum*.

§ 14. *videlicet*] ironical, 'I suppose'.

*hospitum numero habuit*] 'treated as guests'. Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 6 *aliquem hostium numero habere*.

14 *an*] 'or rather'.

*ac*] 'and what is more'. 14. 11 *vir ac vere Romanus*.

15 *existimari*] 'to be decided'. Sall. *Jug.* 85. 14 *nunc vos existimate facta an dicta pluris sint*.

16 § 15. *squalorem*] referring to their garments, *deformitatem* to their appearance generally. II. 23. 2 *obsita squalore vestis*.

19 § 16. *intueri*] the doors of the Senate house always remained open while the assembly was sitting.

*in vestibulo*] not inconsistent with 60. 1 *in comitio*, for the *vestibulum* was properly not part of a building but the space or courtyard in front of it. Becker's *Gallus* 237.

24 § 17. *sed*] marking an abrupt change of subject.

*me dius fidius*] an elliptical expression for *ita me deus fidius iuvet*,

'good heavens'. *filius* is connected with *fides*; and *deus fidius* refers to the Sabine deity *Semo Sancus*, 'the god of fidelity'. Cf. Ζεὺς πιστίος.

*mitis*] i.e. if he were to release us.

26 *indigni ut*] *qui* is more usual, both occur in XXIII. 42. 10 *quos ut socios haberes dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas quos in fidem receptos tuearis.*

27 § 18. *capti*] = *captivi*.

29 *redeam*] What Roby calls the interrogative of command, § 1610, it is common in indignant questions. Cf. Hor. S. II. 3. 264 *exclusi!; revocat; redeam? non, si obsecret.*

*nummis*] *denarii*, as appears from 52. 3. Otherwise *nummus* generally = *sestertius*.

30 § 19. *suum quisque habet animum*] sc. others may think differently.

32 *ne abeamus*] depending on the meaning of fearing contained in *movet*. Cf. 22. 5 *pignus...morabatur, ne...culpa...lueretur.*

## CHAPTER LX.

p. 68. 3 § 1. *comitio*] 7. 7 note.

5 *liberos* etc.] *asyndeton enumerativum*. Not *maritos* nor *patres* for women and children were not allowed to approach the Senate house. The former however stood in the Forum.

7 § 2. *necessitas*] 'the pressure of necessity', as they depended on their husbands for support.

8 *senatus consuli coeptus*] lit. 'began to be consulted'. The Senators, at least the more prominent among them (see on *pedibus*, 56. 1), were asked their opinion in turn. 'The debate began'.

*submotis*] 56. 1.

*arbitris*] witnesses, 'strangers', i. e. the 10 envoys.

9 § 3. *variaretur*] 'there was a difference'. *vario* may be either transitive or intransitive, and it is used impersonally in the passive in the same sense as intransitively in the active. I. 43. 11 *si variaret.*

10 *de publico*] ἀπὸ κοινῶν, 'out of the public funds'. So *ex privato* § 4.

11 *nec*] = 'yet not'.

*prohibendos redimi*] one may say *redimi prohibentur* on the same principle as *iubeor hoc facere*. This use is extended to the gerundive.

III. 28. 7 *iam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant.*

12 § 4. *in praesentia*] ablative, though *in praesens* is used.

- 13 *dandam mutuam*] 'should be lent'.
- 14 *praedibus...praediis*] ablatives of the means. *Praes* is a surety, one who pledges his property as a security. Festus, 222 *praes est qui populo se obligat*. *praedia* the properties pledged.  
*populo*] probably *dativus commodi*, rather than dative of the agent, 'that security should be procured for the state'.
- 15 § 5. *Manlius*] he was an old man, for he had been censor in 231 B.C. His principal exploit was the conquest of Sardinia, 235 B.C.  
*priscae severitatis*] The genitive of quality is sometimes (but not in Cicero) joined directly to a proper noun, without the interposition of *vir* etc. III. 27. 1 *Tarquitium, patriciae gentis*.  
*interrogatus*] *rogatus* is more usual in this sense.
- 19 § 6. *eorum*] depending on *ullius*, 'without attacking any of them'.
- 20 § 7. *quid aliud quam*] practically=*tantum*. The expression is really elliptical and stands for *quid aliud mihi faciendum esset quam ut admonerem*. XXXIV. 46. 7 *Galli per biduum nihil aliud (sc. fecerunt) quam per biduum steterunt parati*.
- 21 *necessario...exemplo*] ablativus of means. It was necessary now, for Hannibal's design was to diminish the desperate valour of the Romans by holding them out some hopes of escape in case of surrender. Pol. VI. 58. 9. Cf. 58. 2.  
*rem militarem*] 'military discipline'.
- 22 *nunc*] Gk. *vûv δέ*. 39. 3.
- 23 *praeferrî*] *se* is omitted.
- 29 § 8. *P. Sempronius*] 50. 6 sqq.
- 32 § 9. *tum...lactis*] as though a *cum* corresponding to *tum* had preceded. But this is omitted, as it would have come next to *cum*= 'when'. For a similar omission cf. 50. 4.  
*et ipsis*] 'like the Romans'. *et=quoque*, 2. 7.
- p. 69. 1 *plerisque*] The Numidians who surrounded the camp (50. 11) are excepted.
- 3 *etiam per confertos*] = *etiam si conferti essent*.
- 4 *per se*] = *spon-te*.
- 6 § 10. *paucitas*] 24. 9.
- 9 *posse*] *se*.
- § 11. *si ut...si ut*] Madvig's correction for *sicut...sicut*.
- 10 *P. Decius*] This was the P. Decius Mus who devoted himself to death in the Latin war at the battle of Vesuvius, 340 B.C. The occasion here referred to was in 343 B.C., during the first Samnite

war, when he saved the Roman army from being attacked in a defile by seizing a hill commanding the enemy's camp.

- 11 *priore*] The speaker of course knows of only two Punic wars.

*Calpurnius Flamma*] The Roman army was surrounded in a defile near Camarina, when Calpurnius cut his way out and saved it, 258 B.C. Livy, *Epit.* 17.

- 15 § 12. *diceret*] The imperfect subjunctive may be used to express an unfulfilled condition in the past if the action is continuous, 46. 4. So *ducerem. extitisset* on the other hand expresses a single act.

- 16 § 13. *viam*] There is an adversative asyndeton here, 'as it is he points you out'.

- 17 *non magis quam*] 'quite as much as', cf. 27. 2.

*demonstrat...facit*] Sempronius. The orator carries his hearers back to the moment of the action, and the presents have here a future sense. Cf. XXI. 13. 7 *corpora servat inviolata si velitis exire.*

- 19 § 14. *ut servemini*] middle, 'to save yourselves'.

- 24 § 15. *incolumes*] opposed to *deminuti capite*, 'full citizens'.

*desiderate* etc.] The meaning is 'You may long for your country (lit. 'long for it') while you are full citizens of it, or rather, I should say, while it still is your country, and you citizens of it, but not now. Now you are not citizens at all, but belong to the Carthaginians'.

- 25 *deminuti capite*] *Caput*=the sum total of the rights of a Roman citizen. He possessed *familia, civitas, libertas*. The loss of the first (as by adoption) entailed *capitis deminutio minima*, of the second *c. d. minor*, of all three *c. d. maxima*. 'Your status impaired' or rather, as this was a case of *capitis deminutio maxima*, 'your rights forfeited'. Cf. Hor. C. III. 5. 42 *capitis minor* of the captive Regulus. *abalienati* and *servi facti* only explain *deminuti*, but in the force of the terms the three clauses constitute a climax.

- 26 *abalienati*] = *privati*. The usual meaning is 'to estrange'.

*iure civium*] practically the same as *civitate*, 'their rights as citizens'.

- 27 § 16. *pretio*] 'at the cost of a ransom'. Cf. *auro repensus scilicet acrior miles redibit*, Hor. C. III. 5. 25, with which ode the whole of this speech may be compared in tone.

- 28 *audistis*] 'obeyed'.

- 29 *post paulo*] = *paulo post*, cf. *maiozem aliquanto* 48. 4.

- 30 *prodi*] but *capere inbentem* above. The mood is changed only for variety or euphony.

- 32 § 17. *obsistere*] There is no mention of resistance in 50. 10.

p. 70. 1 *conati sunt. ni...submovissent*] The true apodosis *et retinuissent*

is left out. The irregularity, as in all mixed conditional sentences, is due to a rapid transition of thought. Cf. Verg. *B. IX. 45 numeros memini (et canerem) si verba tenerem.*

3 § 18. *hos*] = *tales*.

4 *desideret*] 'is she to wish them back?' See on 59. 18 *redeam*.

7 § 19. *neque obstitere; quam tutum* etc.] The coordinate statement of premise and conclusion, and also the interrogative form of the conclusion, are more emphatic than *cum non obstiterint, multo tutius fuisset*.

10 § 20. *milia...fortia fidelia*] XXI. 55. 1 *duodeviginti milia Romana erant*.

*fortia fidelia*] asyndeton with words of similar meaning.

12 *nam*] The clause omitted is 'I don't say brave', 59. 12.

*fortes*] sc. *se esse*.

*dixerint*] potential subjunctive like *praetulerint*, 59. 10.

13 § 21. *nisi quis*] ironical, 'for I don't suppose anyone believes'.

*aut favisse*] Madvig's correction for *fuisse ut P*, for which W. read *fuisse usui*. The correction is recommended by the correspondence of *aut favisse* and *aut non invidere*.

*qui*] = *eos qui*.

15 *incolumitati*] merely 'safety' here.

19 § 22. *at*] introduces ironically a plea which might be made for the prisoners.

*defuit...habuerunt*] Notice the paratactic arrangement. We should say 'if they lacked courage they were at any rate bold enough' etc.

23 § 23. *adfectis*] 'weakened', 8. 3 *in adfecto corpore*.

24 § 24. *orto sole*] The statement of the facts begins rather abruptly. We should preface it with 'No'.

25 *ante secundam*] sc. before eight o'clock. But according to 52. 4 the camps were attacked late in the afternoon.

27 *haec vobis*] *vobis* is *dat.* *ethicus*, 'Such, mark you'. Cic. *Fam. 9. 2 At tibi repente venit ad me Caninius mane*.

§ 25. *cum...decuerat*] *P decuerit*. But coincidence of the time of two acts is expressed by *cum* with the indicative. The pluperfect is used because the act if performed would be in the past. *Refugiunt cum pugnare decuit* but *Refugerunt cum pugnare decuerat*.

30 § 26. *et*] strengthens the indignant question, like *εἴρα* in Greek. Dem. *Olynth. 1. 24 εἴρ' οὐκ ἀσχύροσθε;*

*redimamus*] cf. § 18 *desideret*, 59. 18.

## CHAPTER LXI.

p. 71. 5 § 1. *dixit*] 'had finished speaking'.

6 *cognitione attingebant*] 'were nearly related to'.

7 *iam inde*] more commonly with an ablative: e.g. *iam inde ab initio*, 'from the very beginning'.

9 *movit*] 'weighed with them'. XXI. 38. 3 *Alimentus maxime me auctor moveret*.

§ 2. *quia*] P *quam*, for which *qua* has been read. *qua* suits *locupletari*, but *exhauriri* not so well.

10 *erogata*] 23. 8.

*servos*] 57. 11

12 *rei*] sc. *pecuniae*.

13 *locupletari*] There might have been some point in this argument if Rome had been the only market for Hannibal's captives. As it was during the war he got 100 talents by the sale of his prisoners in Greece, XXXIV. 50. 5.

14 § 3. *redimi*] present used for future, as indicating greater certainty, 'were not to be ransomed'. Cf. 60. 13 *facit*, note.

15 *super*] 57. 2 note.

18 § 4. *quod exsolvisset*] 'because, as he thought'.

22 § 5. *alia*] Cicero, *de Officiis*, III. 115 gives the same story on the authority of Acilius, merely saying however that several men returned in the way described and were accordingly disgraced.

*primo*] P has *primos*, which agrees with Pol. VI. 58. 2 δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστέρους, but leaves *deinde* without anything to correspond to it.

24 *ita...ne*] The qualification is introduced in the consecutive clause, 'on condition that they should not however'. More often it is placed in the main clause, as *ita tamen...ne daretur*. For *ita...ne* Cicero writes *ita ut ne*.

§ 6. *morantibus*] *iis*, ablative absolute.

25 *longius spe*] 52. 3 *maturior spe deditio*.

*insuper*] 56. 6.

26 *Scribonium* etc.] In lists of proper names either asyndeton or polysyndeton is used.

28 § 7. *relatum*] This is the first recorded occasion on which a motion was brought forward in the senate by a tribune, ordinarily this was done by a consul.

30 § 8. *per causam*] 'under the pretext'. XLIV. 16. 6 *primo subtrahere se per alias atque alias causas*. *per* expresses the manner as in



18. 9 *extracta aetate per ludificationem hostis*. With *causam* cf. *causari* 'to allege in excuse', 'plead'.

31 *religione*] the obligation imposed by their oath.

p. 72. 2 *censuerint*] note the reversion to primary sequence.

§ 9. *proximis censoribus*] abl. absolute.

3 *notis*] the marks or expressions of censure affixed by the censors to the names of misdemeanants on the roll of citizens. The censors could (1) expel a man from the Senate, *cicere e senatu*; (2) deprive him of his horse, if an *eques*, *adimere equum*; (3) *movere a tribu*, which generally took the form of removing a man from a country tribe to one of the less honourable city tribes; (4) *aerarium facere*, or *referre in aerarios*, place him among the lowest class of citizens who paid a poll-tax, but had no vote.

5 *deinde vita*] *deinde* is used attributively, 'their subsequent life'.

7. 11 *deinceps diebus*.

*caruerint*] lit. 'did without', 'shunned'.

6 § 10. *quid veri sit*] 40. 8 *quicquam reliqui erat*.

7 *queas*] 'one could'. An instance of the use of the 2nd person singular of the subjunctive to express a hypothetical action the subject of which is undefined, 46. 4 *crederes*.

9 *vel*] 'even this' i.e. 'this alone', to adduce no other proof. XXI. 13.

3 *vel ea fides sit*.

*fides sociorum*] the wasting of Campania had failed to shake it,

39. 12.

10 *profecto*] 'assuredly'.

11 § 11. *defecere*] The effect of the following passage is to make the results of Cannae appear more crushing than they really were. Similarly Polybius says III. 118. 5 *τὴν Ἰταλιωτῶν δυναστείαν παραχρῆμα διὰ τὴν ἥτταν ἀπεγνώκεισαν*, 'in consequence of the defeat the Romans immediately relinquished the supremacy of Italy'. But on the one hand the defections which are here mentioned together did not occur simultaneously but were spread over several years, and on the other it should be remembered that everywhere the aristocratic party in the towns stood out against defection, which impeded Hannibal's progress, and that in the Roman and Latin Colonies the Romans held the chief strategical points of Italy. No Roman, no Latin ally had as yet joined the Carthaginians.

12 *Atellani, Calatini*] inhabitants of Campanian towns near Capua. Atella is best known in connexion with the *Fabulae Atellanae*, a species of early provincial drama. VII. 2. 11. The revolt of Capua is not

mentioned, though it took place earlier than that of the two towns here referred to. Pol. III. 118. 3 Καπυανῶν τινες ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

*Hirpinī*] a Samnite tribe, but separated politically from the rest of Samnium after its submission to Rome, 13. 1.

*Apulorum pars*] Polybius only mentions the people of Arpi, l.c.

- 13 § 12. *Pentros*] a Samnite canton, the capital of which was Bovianum.

*Bruttii*] except Consentia and Petelia, the latter of which made a gallant resistance.

- 14 *praeter*] 'besides'.

*Uzentini*] Uzentum (now *Ugento*) on the E. shore of the Tarentine gulf almost at the extremity of Calabria.

*Graecorum...ora*] *Magna Graecia*.

*Tarentini*] Tarentum was not captured by the Carthaginians till 212 B.C. For three years it was valuable to Hannibal as a port, but in 209 B.C. it was recovered by the veteran Fabius.

- 16 *Galli*] these had revolted in 218 B.C. XXI. 55. 4.

§ 13. *moverunt*] 'induced'.

- 17 *usquam*] i.e. either among Senate or people.

- 18 *Romam adventum*] In Livy an accusative of the place whither is often attached with or without a preposition to a verbal substantive expressing motion. XXXV. 49 *concursatio regis Lamiam*. XXI. 11. 13 *Hannibalis in Oretanos projectio*. Before him such a use is rather poetical, e.g. Verg. *A.* VI. 542 *hac iter Elysium nobis*, though instances are found in Cicero and Caesar. Madvig, § 233.

- 24 § 15. *nihil recusandum supplicii*] 'there was no punishment to which he would not have had to submit'.

*foret*] *foret*, *esset*, *fuisset* are sometimes used with the gerundive instead of *fuit* etc. where stress is laid on the conditional nature of the action.

## APPENDIX I.

### THE ROUTE OF HANNIBAL ACROSS THE APENNINES, AND THROUGH THE MARSHES OF THE ARNO<sup>1</sup>.

[See map in Arnold's *Second Punic War*, ed. W. J. Arnold, p. 39.]

THE words *via propior per paludes* c. 2. 2 have been generally thought to refer to some pass over the Apennines, which Livy thus distinguishes from another pass, described as *iter longius ceterum commodius*, which Hannibal thought it best not to cross. (Arnold III. 86, Mommsen II. 120, Neumann, *Punische Krieger*, 330.)

But it has been pointed out that at the time to which Livy refers the whole of the district which lies along the lower Arno between Florence and Pisa was in all probability marshland. It was so in the Middle Ages when the prosperity of Pisa declined; it must have been so at the time of the Punic Wars, before the Arno was embanked.

On this marshland all the routes over the Apennines from the valley of the Po into Northern Etruria debouched, while no one of them led over it. Therefore none of them could be distinguished from the others, or correctly described at all, as *via propior per paludes*.

The words then refer not to the route by which Hannibal crossed the Apennines to reach the marshland, but that which he followed when he actually reached it. Livy means the reader to take the passage over the Apennines for granted. An attempt to cross them made earlier in the year (alluded to in c. 1. 1) has been already minutely described (XXI. 58). On this occasion the difficulties met

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arnold's *Second Punic War*, ed. W. J. Arnold, note D, p. 378.

with being inconsiderable Livy may have thought it unnecessary to record the passage a second time.

At the same time it is necessary to have an idea by which pass Hannibal crossed the Apennines if we wish to know what route he followed when he reached the marshes.

I. There are four possible passes. (1) From Parma over La Cisa, and down the valley of the Macra to Luna. (2) From Rhegium Lepidum (Reggio) by Sassalbo also to Luna. (3) From Mutina (Modena) over the Monte Cimone and down the Serchio to Lucca, or diverging eastwards to Pescia. (4) The route now followed by the railway, from Bononia (Bologna) to Pistoria (Pistoia).

(1) The first is the easiest and most obvious route, supposing Hannibal to have started from his winter quarters in the plain S. of Cremona and Placentia. But there is this objection. Pisa with its two outpost towns, Luna and Lucca, formed a defensive position on the west of the Apennines similar to that formed by Ariminum with Placentia and Cremona on the east. It is likely that all three towns were fortified and garrisoned, in which case this road would have been commanded by Luna.

(2) The Reggio route has no advantages, being difficult and circuitous, and is open to the same objection as the road from Parma.

(3) That branch of the Mutina route which debouches at Lucca would have been commanded by that town, but the branch which leads to Pescia may have been followed. On the other hand this route is difficult.

(4) The pass from Bologna to Pistoria is open to this objection, that the distance between the latter place to Faesulae is so small (only 20 miles) that Hannibal could hardly have taken four days in covering it. (Livy 2. 7; Polybius III. 79. 8.) If Hannibal came as far east as this he could hardly have eluded the notice of Flaminius, which Polybius says (III. 78. 6) he wished to do.

It is impossible to decide with certainty between these four roads. On the whole the balance of probability seems to incline in favour of the route which, starting from Mutina, crosses the Monte Cimone and diverging eastwards reaches the plain at Pescia.

II. The starting-point thus provisionally settled, it remains to consider the goal of Hannibal's route across the marshes. Livy says it was Faesulae (c. 3. 6), whence Hannibal would naturally have followed the Arno upwards. But had Hannibal marched up the valley of the Arno he could not have passed Flaminius at Arretium without

an engagement. This is not the only difficulty raised by the mention of *Faesulae* in the passage quoted (see note on c. 3. 6) and it seems probable that if Livy is not altogether mistaken he means by *Faesulae* some other place than Fiesole, near Florence. Polybius says expressly that Hannibal wished to follow a route which was withdrawn from the enemy's ken; at Fiesole he would have been under the eyes of Flaminius. His words are, 'He considered that most of the ways into the enemy's country were too long and too patent to the foe, but that that which led into Etruria through the marshes though difficult was short and would enable him to take Flaminius' troops by surprise'.

III. 78. 6. It seems then far more likely that instead of going to *Faesulae* and immediately entering the valley of the Arno he struck southwards across the marshes from Pescia to Empoli. Then he ascended the Elsa, which flows into the Arno on its left bank, reached Siena and the valley of the Clanis, which he ravaged, and so reached a point south of Flaminius without passing under his eyes.

*Via propior per paludes* then refers to the line between Pescia to Empoli. The longer but more convenient way, *iter longius ceterum commodius*, would be the road from Pescia by Pistoia, Prato and Fiesole to Florence. Longer it certainly would be, but at the same time more convenient, for as it skirted the hills which bounded the marshland to the north it passed over comparatively firm ground. On the other hand it was, as Polybius says, *πρόδηλος τοῖς πολεμίοις*, for it would have brought Hannibal into the Arno valley, where he would have been directly under the notice of Flaminius, and would have found it impossible to pass him without an engagement.

## APPENDIX II.

### THE BATTLE OF TRASIMENE.

I. LIVY'S account is clear. The Romans are marching from W. to E. parallel with the N. shore of the lake. They find their way barred by a force in front; at the same time they are attacked on their left flank, while the enemy's cavalry in the rear makes retreat impossible. After three hours' fighting they are completely routed, and many of them are driven into the lake.

[There are a few minor points on which doubts have been raised. Some think that the infantry under Hannibal was not posted in the plain to bar the Roman advance, as explained in the note on 4. 3, but on the hill on which Tuoro stands (see on 4. 4). But a force on the hill of Tuoro could hardly be described as *ex adverso* (4. 4) with reference to the Romans advancing E., though it is true that the hill projects a considerable distance into the plain. Again, this division is contrasted with that which was above the Romans (*super caput*). If it had been on the Tuoro hill it would have been equally *super caput* with the other division. Most of those who think that the Tuoro hill was occupied by the infantry, place the light-armed further E. at the defile of Passignano, and refer *hostium acies...a fronte* (5. 6) to the light-armed. But the light-armed would not be so well adapted to bar the enemy's progress as to assail them with missiles in flank. Again, if this were so, the expressions *ex adverso* 4. 4, and *adversos hostes* 6. 8, refer to different forces, to the infantry in the first case, to the light-armed in the second. And what would *super caput insidiae* 4. 4 refer to on this supposition?

The other alternative is that the light-armed were W. of the infantry between Tuoro and Monte Gualandro. But this theory restricts the field of battle rather too much, and leaves the defile at Passignano unguarded. It is not necessary to say more of this, as we have seen that there are objections to supposing that Hannibal was posted on the Tuoro hill.]

II. Polybius's account varies considerably from that of Livy. He thus describes the ground which was the principal scene of the battle. III. 83. 1, 'In the defile was a valley with a plain in it (*αὐλῶν ἐπίπεδος*) having on each of its long sides high continuous hills, and for its short sides, on that which is opposite and fronts you, a rugged and difficult steep (*λόφος*), and on that which is behind you, the lake, which leaves quite a narrow entrance to the valley along the foot of the mountains. Accordingly having traversed the valley parallel to the lake (the words *παρὰ τὴν λίμνην* are probably a gloss,—they directly contradict what Polybius has just said as to the position of the *αὐλῶν*), he occupied the hill opposite the line of march himself, and encamped upon it with the Spaniards and Africans; with the Baliares and darters he went forward (*κατὰ τὴν πρωτοπορείαν*), and leading them round by a detour up to the hills on the right-hand side of the valley, he placed them under cover in an extended line. In like fashion he led the cavalry and the Gauls round the hills on the left and drew them up along them in a con-

tinuous line, so that the last of them were opposite the entrance itself, which leads along the lake and the foot of the mountains into the above-mentioned place'.

In Polybius then the Romans fight with the lake in their rear, in Livy with the lake on their right flank.

Nissen, who thinks that the two accounts may be reconciled, explains this discrepancy by saying that the Romans on entering the plain turned to the left to attack Hannibal who was on the Tuoro hill (the λόφος of Polybius). They thus had the lake in their rear. Afterwards, abandoning the attempt, they continued their march E. In this way the supposed inconsistency between 4. 7 (*in frontem lateraque pugnari*) and 5. 6 (*ab lateribus montes ac lacus*) is explained. At the time referred to in 4. 6, the Romans are facing towards Tuoro, at the time indicated in 5. 6 they are pushing on towards Passignano.

But if there were really these two separate movements why is it that neither Polybius nor Livy says so? And how is this theory compatible with the statement of both authors that the Romans were surprised on the march, and that the battle began while they were yet in marching order?

And there remains a greater difficulty when we try to adapt Polybius' description to the plain between Gualandro and Passignano. Polybius' αὐλῶν ἐπίπεδος may seem to correspond to Livy's *patentior campus*. But if we understand by the hill on one of the 'short' sides of the valley the Tuoro hill, projecting from the centre of the semi-circle of hills which bound the plain on the N., and by the 'long' sides (τὰς ἐς μῆκος πλευρὰς) the hills which diverge from the Tuoro height to the defile under Gualandro in one direction and that at Passignano in the other (which is in itself improbable enough), then the other 'short' side is the shore of the lake between Borghetto and Passignano, in reality the longest side of the four. The latest writers on the subject have recognized the hopelessness of adapting Polybius' description to the plain which Livy seems to indicate as the scene of battle.

III. <sup>1</sup> Polybius' words clearly apply to a long narrow valley with steep heights rising on either side. After passing through the defile of Passignano the road leaves the lake at La Torricella and turning S.E. ascends the hills to Magione. Between these two points it has been maintained that Polybius' αὐλῶν ἐπίπεδος lies. The lake is in the rear, an ascent in front. There are steep heights on either side of the road.

<sup>1</sup> Voigt, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, lxx. 1580 ff.



Before the road leaves the lake the hills come close down to the water leaving a narrow passage along the shore (cf. the passage quoted from Polybius above). Hannibal occupied the high ground in front. The Baliares and light-armed were posted on the hills on the S.E. side of the valley (δεξιὸς and εὐώνυμος in Polybius' description must be understood with reference to the general direction of Hannibal's march, i.e. towards Magione), the Gauls and cavalry on those to the S.W. of the valley, the cavalry, however, mainly on the heights commanding the road where it still runs parallel to the lake.

The situation suits Polybius' description of the battle. He distinguishes that part of the battle which took place in the valley (cf. III. 84. 11 τοὺς κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα) and that which was fought in the defile at the entrance of the valley. The Romans in the valley were attacked on all sides (συνεπεχίρει πανταχόθεν τοῖς πολεμοῖς III. 84. 1). Those caught in the defile (οἱ ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς συγκλεισθέντες ibid. 8) were driven by the cavalry into the lake. Livy, it is contended, confuses these two parts of the battle in a general account. (Cf. *latera* 4. 7 with *ab lateribus montes ac lacus* 5. 6.)

It must be admitted that Livy is not incapable of selecting the most striking feature in the accounts of the battle, and representing it as the whole. But there are not wanting objections to the theory which places the scene of the battle between Torricella and Magione.

Höfler, who has visited the spot, declares roundly that the valley as described by Polybius exists only on paper. Dr Arnold, also an eye-witness, writes, 'The road turns from the lake and ascends the hills. Yet although they form something of a curve there is nothing to deserve the name of a valley'. *Hist. Rome*, III. 88.

Voigt<sup>1</sup>, the advocate of this situation, himself admits that there could not have been room in and about the valley for the 30,000 Romans and 80,000 Carthaginians, and supposes that most of the Romans were cut off between the mountains and the lake, though Polybius (III. 84. 1) says that the majority of the troops had already entered the αὐλῶν when the signal for attack was given. Further, Faltin<sup>2</sup> points out that there could hardly have been time for Flaminius to have reached a point so far E. of his camp of the previous night at Borghetto before the day had quite broken (*vixdum satis certa luce*, 4. 4) or the morning mist was off the ground. Lastly, the defile

<sup>1</sup> *Philologische Wochenschrift*, III. 1595.

<sup>2</sup> *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, IV. 1050.

near Torricella was a most unsuitable place for the operations of cavalry.

In view of these considerations there seems no choice but to place the scene of the battle in the plain on the N. shore of the lake, and to prefer Livy's account of the battle to that of Polybius.

### APPENDIX III.

#### HANNIBAL'S ENTRANCE INTO AND ESCAPE FROM CAMPANIA.

[See Kiepert's *Carta dell' Italia Centrale*, or the section of it given in Arnold's *Second Punic War*, ed. W. J. Arnold, to face p. 55.]

A. The part of Campania into which Hannibal descended is bounded on the N.W. by the Mons Massicus, on the N.E. by a prolongation of the chain to which the Mons Massicus belongs, on the S.E. by the Vulturnus, and on the S.W. by the sea.

The regular routes by which it might be approached were as follows: (1) the Via Appia passed between the foot of the Mons Massicus and the sea at Sinuessa. (2) Higher up the slopes of the Mons Massicus was a road between Suessa and Teanum. (3) E. of the Mons Massicus is a wide depression commanded by Teanum and to a less extent by Cales, which lay further to the S.E. This is an obvious way into Campania, and is now followed by the railway from Rome to Naples. Then the ground rises again in a group of hills, nameless, as a whole, in modern as it was in ancient times, the chief summit of which is Mte Maggiore (2600 ft.). (4) Next comes the valley of the Vulturnus, and a road along it from Telesia in Samnium, guarded at its outlet by Casilinum. Lastly, (5) there is a passage from the S.E. (the line followed by the Via Appia when it leaves Campania for Samnium) from Caudium to Capua, and by a bridge over the Vulturnus to Casilinum.

Livy, 13. 3, says Hannibal came from the territory of Allifae through that of Cales into the Stellatian plain. The mention of Cales shews that Livy meant that Hannibal entered Campania by the depression between Massicus and Mte Maggiore, commanded by Teanum. He

may indeed have meant that he came over the hills called after Mte Maggiore, in a straight line between Allifae and Cales. But this is not probable, for there is nothing in his account to shew that Hannibal came otherwise than by one of the regular roads into Campania. Had Livy meant that Hannibal came over the Mte Maggiore he would surely have mentioned that he came by an 'iter impeditum', or 'transversis limitibus'. In any case if Hannibal came past Cales he did not come by the route along the Volturnus and past Casilinum.

Polybius, III. 92. 1, says Hannibal crossed from Samnium by the pass opposite, or in the region of, the hill called Eribianus (διελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Σαυνίτιδος τὰ στενὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἐριβιανὸν καλούμενον λόφον). We do not know of any elevation called Eribianus, but it has been identified by Prof. Voigt (*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, IV. 1561, sqq.) with M. Erbano in the group of mountains N. of Telesia. If this supposition be correct Polybius' statement may reasonably be understood as referring to the road from Telesia down the Volturnus to Casilinum (4). That this is Polybius' meaning becomes more probable when one refers to an enumeration of the passes into Campania given by Polybius immediately before the passage quoted above. He says there are only three passes from central Italy into Campania, (a) one from Samnium, (b) one from Latium, (c) one from the country of the Hirpini (i.e. Southern Samnium) εἰσβολαὶ τρεῖς ὑπάρχουσι μόνον ἐκ τῆς μεσογαίου, στεναὶ καὶ δύσβατοι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαυνίτιδος, δευτέρα δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Λατίνης, ἡ δὲ κατάλοιπος ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἱρπίνους τόπων. Now which pass does Polybius mean by (a) 'the pass from Samnium', for this is evidently the same as that which he says below was actually taken by Hannibal?

The pass from Latium (b) must be the road by Teanum (3). It cannot be the Via Appia from the north (1), or the road from Suessa (2), for Polybius is only speaking of passes ἐκ τῆς μεσογαίου. The pass from the Hirpini (c) must evidently be the pass from Caudium, the Via Appia from the S. (5).

The pass from Samnium (a) must then be the road from Telesia down the Volturnus to Casilinum (4).

Here then we have a discrepancy. Livy seems to say that Hannibal entered Campania on the W. side of the group of Mte Maggiore, Polybius that he entered it on the E. side. Polybius does not mention the incident of the guide's mistake (13. 6 and note), and consistently with this does not take Hannibal so far out of the direct road to Campania in a North-westerly direction.

Whom shall we follow?

I think, in this case, Polybius, for the following reasons: (1) the road down the Volturnus is certainly a shorter and better way from Telesia to the Falernian and Stellanian plains than round by Allifae and Cales. (2) There are, as we have seen (note on 13. 6), certain difficulties in the story of the guide's mistake between Casinum and Casilinum. Even when corrected it does not appear very probable. (3) Livy having said that Hannibal entered Campania by Cales 13. 6, following some authority other than Polybius, afterwards seems to waver, for he implies, 15. 3, that Hannibal left Campania by the same route by which he entered it, and whatever be the route by which he makes Hannibal leave Campania it is certainly not the route by Cales and Teanum. In his account of Hannibal's escape he follows Polybius, though not accurately. See below.

B. It remains to consider the question, by what route did Hannibal leave Campania?

Let us take Polybius' account first, as it is clearer than that of Livy. He says that Fabius saw that Hannibal intended to escape by the same road by which he had entered Campania, that is, as we have seen, by the road along the Volturnus. Of course this need not necessarily imply that he actually did so; but as Polybius represents Hannibal's tactics as consisting not in taking an unexpected route but in inducing the enemy to abandon the road which he had been expected to and did follow, we may conclude that, according to Polybius at any rate, Hannibal left Campania, as he had entered it, by the river-road.

To consider Polybius' narrative more closely. Fabius had placed 4000 men to guard the passage from Campania (*ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς διεκβολῆς*), probably at the point where the hills which stretch E. of Cales to the Volturnus almost come down to the river, and where there is now a bridge called Ponte Annibale. Fabius himself was encamped on some high ground before the defile, *ἐπὶ τινι λόφῳ ὑπερδέξιον πρὸ τῶν στενῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσε*.

His object probably was to take the Carthaginians in the rear when engaged with the troops who were guarding the defile. The Carthaginians were encamped close under the foot of the hills (III. 93. 1 *ποιησαμένων τὴν παρεμβολὴν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρώρειαν*). Hannibal on his side pointed out to those who had the charge of the oxen a pass lying between his own camp and the defile, i.e. probably E. of his camp, the defile being still further E. (III. 93. 5 *ὑπερβολὴν τινὰ μεταξὺ κειμένην τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδείας καὶ τῶν στενῶν*). It was in the direc-

tion of this *ὑπερβολή*, or elevated pass, that the oxen were to be driven. This was not the place occupied by the enemy, for though the light-armed troops who followed the oxen were ordered to seize the heights and engage with any of the enemy they might happen to find (*ἵνα... συμπλέκωνται τοῖς πολεμοῖς ἑάν που συναντῶσι πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς*) it is plain they did not expect to find the place regularly defended. Meantime Hannibal himself marched towards the defile leading out of Campania (*ἦκε πρὸς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς διεκβολὰς*). The Romans who were guarding the defile (*οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς στενοῖς φυλάττοντες*) seeing the lights going in the direction of the pass (*πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς*) thought that Hannibal was making his attack in that direction, and abandoning the difficult defile hurried to the heights to stop him (*παρεβόηθουν τοῖς ἄκροισι*). There they fell in with the light-armed who had accompanied the oxen to the *ὑπερβολαί*, and remained drawn up over against them till day dawned. Hannibal meantime, his object gained, led his army through the defile.

From Polybius it appears then that Hannibal escaped by the river road, while the oxen were driven up to the hills to the W. of the position occupied by the Roman troops guarding the road, who were thus led to believe that their flank was turned. Throughout the whole account the clearest distinction is maintained between the passage over the hills by which the oxen were driven (*ὑπερβολή*) and the defile between the hills and the Vulturnus by which Hannibal's main army passed (*διεκβολή* or *τὰ στενὰ*).

Livy's account differs from that of Polybius in both these particulars.

(1) He says, 16. 5, *Itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset*, (which may mean the road along the Vulturnus, to which otherwise there would be no reference in Livy's account) *petendique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, ludibrium commentus* etc. The words 'as he had to make for the mountains and surmount the ridge of Callicula' must surely mean that Hannibal was forced to go that way with his army, not merely that he had the oxen driven that way, in order that he might himself be able to go another way.

(2) For the second point. In Polybius the oxen are sent to the *ὑπερβολαί*, the army goes to the *στενά*. In Livy the oxen are sent on first to clear the way, the army follows in the same direction which they have taken. Cf. 17. 1 *primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti*. Livy does not indeed mean that the oxen were driven straight up the pass occupied by the enemy, for then the latter would immediately have seen the nature of the appearance which

terrified them. This they did not do till later, 17. 6. He means that they were driven by side-paths, but in the same direction as was afterwards followed by the army to points above the pass. In Polybius the guard on the defile sees lights moving towards the pass at a point in the hills some distance from their own position, and they hurry to stop the enemy. In Livy they see the lights immediately above them, *in montibus ac super se* 17. 4, and retreat to the highest points in the mountains.

Generally speaking there is a close resemblance between the two narratives. Livy seems to have taken his account from Polybius but not to have understood the situation. Thus *iugum* (*Calliculae*) 16. 5 and *iugum* (*montis*) 18. 2 seem to be translations of *ὑπερβολή*, while *saltus* in 16. 8, 17. 4 and 17. 7 seems to be a translation of *διεκβολή*, and *vias angustas* 17. 2 of the convertible expression *τὰ στενά*. But he says nothing to lead us to suppose that the course of the oxen lay over the *iugum* as distinguished from that of the army which passed over the *saltus*. On the contrary, in 16. 5 (quoted above) he implies distinctly that the army went over the *iugum Calliculae*.

Supposing that Livy's account is independent from that of Polybius and that he means that Hannibal did cross the hills, he may have reached Allifae (17. 7) either by striking into the road from Casilinum to Caiatia immediately after crossing Callicula, and following it from Caiatia to Allifae, or he may have followed the track (marked in Kiepert's map) which led to Allifae straight over the hills.

But besides being less clear than Polybius', Livy's account is less probable. It would have been a most difficult, if not impossible, task to transport a large army encumbered with baggage over a hill-path at night as Livy says was done. Everything inclines us to prefer the narrative of Polybius.

## APPENDIX IV.

## THE BATTLE OF CANNAE.

ON which bank of the Aufidus was the battle of Cannae fought? The question has given rise to much discussion.

I. To take the account of Polybius first. In III. 107. 2 it is stated that Hannibal seized Cannae. Presumably he remained encamped there. (Cf. Livy 43. 10.) On arriving in his neighbourhood Paulus encamped with two-thirds of his army on the Aufidus (τοῖς μὲν δυσὶ μέρεσι κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Αὔφιδον, 110. 8) and made a camp for the remaining third on the other side of the river (τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ πέραν ἀπὸ διαβάσεως πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἐβάλετο χάρακα). Polybius conceives the river as flowing from S. to N. Its real direction is S.E. to N.E. He means then that the smaller camp was placed on the right bank. This too we should infer from the use of the word *πέραν*, which as the Roman army was advancing from N. to S. would naturally indicate the southernmost bank. After making a speech to his army Hannibal encamps on the same bank on which the larger camp of the Romans is placed. This means, as I think, that he crossed to the left bank and encamped there (III. 111. 11 παραχρῆμα κατεστρατοπέδευσε, ποιούμενος τὸν χάρακα παρὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πλευρὰν τῇ μείζονι στρατοπέδει τῶν ὑπεναντίων). He here offers battle. On Paulus' refusing to fight he sends the Numidians to attack the watering parties from the smaller camp (*trans flumen*, L. 45. 2). But next day Varro being in command crosses from the larger camp (ἐκ τοῦ μείζονος στρατοπέδου διαβιβάζων τὸν ποταμὸν, 113. 2) and draws up his troops for battle. Hannibal also crosses, and does the same, 113. 6, and the battle is fought on the same bank as the smaller camp, i.e. the right bank.

This conclusion is, it seems to me, a fair inference from Polybius' narrative, the statement that the smaller camp was E: of the river, and that the battle was fought on the same side as the smaller camp, leaving little doubt as to what his meaning is.

This view is confirmed by two statements which follow. (1) Varro draws up his troops facing the south (λαμβάνων πᾶσι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν, 113. 2), and (2) rests his right wing on the river



(τοὺς μὲν οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος κατέστησε, 113. 3). These two statements taken together must imply that he was on the right bank, for the general direction of the river is N.E., or as Polybius conceives it due N.

II. Although not entirely consistent with itself the narrative of Livy does on the whole indicate the same position for the battle as that of Polybius. Hannibal is encamped at Cannae 43. 10. The Romans approach and form two camps, the smaller *trans Aufidium*, which as they were advancing from N. to S. surely means the southernmost bank. Hannibal offers battle on the bank on which the larger camp of the Romans is. That this bank is meant appears from the fact that on Paulus' refusing to fight Hannibal sends the Numidians across the river (*trans flumen*, 45. 2) to attack the watering parties from the smaller camp. Next day both armies cross the river (45. 5) in order to fight. In Livy as in Polybius the battle is fought on the same bank as that occupied by the smaller camp.

The point of difference in Livy is that he never mentions the transference of Hannibal's camp from Cannae to the left bank of the Aufidus. Apparently Hannibal remained encamped near Cannae, 43. 10, south of the Aufidus, so that the statement that he crossed the river to fight, 46. 1, would mean that he crossed to the N. or left bank.

But if this is his meaning it is incompatible with the rest of his description. According to this when Hannibal, on being refused battle, sends the Numidians across the river to attack the watering parties from the smaller camp, he sends them to the left bank, while it is natural to infer from the use of *trans* (see above) that the smaller camp was on the right bank. He goes on to state like Polybius that the Romans had their right wing on the river (45. 6), and that they looked south during the battle (46. 9). The direction of the river being what it is these two statements are absolutely incompatible, if we suppose the battle was fought on the left bank.

Livy has made a mistake in omitting to mention the transference of Hannibal's camp to the left bank of the Aufidus, whence he crossed to fight the battle on the right bank. Possibly the passage of Polybius in III. 111. 11 may have escaped him. Possibly he misunderstood it, for it contains no explicit statement that the camp was pitched on the other side of the river. It is only on comparison with the rest of Polybius' narrative that it becomes evident that this is meant. With the exception above-mentioned, and one other of small importance

(referred to in note on 40. 11), the narrative of Livy like that of Polybius indicates the right bank as the scene of the battle.

Two difficulties are raised as against this view. Whether, even if they exist at all, they are sufficient to justify us in disregarding the definite statements of both historians that the Romans rested their right flank on the river and faced south, the reader must decide.

i. The places to which the Roman fugitives escaped after the battle, Canusium and Venusia, lay E. of the battle-field. It would then be natural to suppose that the Romans were drawn up E. of the Carthaginians, otherwise they must have cut their way through the Carthaginians in order to reach these places.

But surely the narrative indicates that this is precisely what was done by the small proportion of the army which escaped. The Romans were attacked in rear all along the line (L. 47. 6, 48. 4) while the thin ranks of the Spanish and Gallic infantry may well have given way before their desperate efforts to break through.

ii. The ground on the N. or left bank is more favourable to the operations of cavalry than that on the right bank, and would for this reason have been selected by Hannibal, who was strong in cavalry.

But we have the assurance of one who has lately studied the question on the spot<sup>1</sup> that while the plain to the N. is a dead level, there is good fighting ground on the right bank for cavalry as well as infantry. It appears that Hannibal would have *preferred* fighting on the left bank (44. 4 *speciem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam facturos copiam pugnandi consules*). But the Romans did not wish to fight there. Paulus refused battle, according to Polybius<sup>2</sup> because he did not like the ground, and foresaw that the Carthaginians would soon be obliged to shift their camp (i.e. from the left bank to the neighbourhood of their stores at Cannae?) by want of supplies. And Varro when in command next day crossed from the left to the right bank before giving battle.

The objections then do not seem to be such as to disturb the conclusion arrived at above, that the battle was fought on the right bank of the Aufidus.

<sup>1</sup> Strachan Davidson, *Selections from Polybius*, Prolegomena, p. 39. Cf. p. 669.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος δυσαρεστούμενος τοῖς τόποις, ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι ταχέως ἀναγκασθήσονται μεταστρατοπεδεύειν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὸν πορισμὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἴχε τὴν ἡσυχίαν.

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